Serfojee Rajah. 1827

1804

THE

WHOLE GENUINE WORKS

OF

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS,

THE LEARNED AND AUTHENTIC JEWISH HISTORIAN, AND CELEBRATED WARRIOR:

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL GREEK,

ACCORDING TO

HAVERCAMP'S ACCURATE EDITION.

CONTAINING,

I. Twenty Books of the JEWISH ANTIQUITIES; with the LIFE of JOSEPHUS, written by himself.
II. Seven Books of the JEWISH WAR.
III. Two Books against Apion.
IV. An Extract out of JOSEPHUS'S Exhortation to the GREEKS, concerning HADES, and the Resurrection of the Dead.

TOGETHER WITH

LARGE NOTES, PROPER OBSERVATIONS, AND AN INDEX.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

THREE DISSERTATIONS,

CONCERNING,

I. The Testimonies of JOSEPHUS vindicated.
II. GOD'S command to Abraham to offer up Isaac, his Son, for a Sacrifice.
III TACITUS'S Accounts of the Origin of the JEWISH NATION, and of the Particulars of the last JEWISH WAR.

WITH A COMPLETE TABLE OF THE JEWISH COINS, WEIGHTS, AND MEASURES.

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IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.

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ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

JEWS.

MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SA... THE TANJORE ... MAHAL.

BOOK IX.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SEVEN YEARS.

[FROM THE DEATH OF AHAB TO THE CAPTIVITY OF THE TEN TRIBES.]

CHAP. I.

Concerning Jehoshaphat again; how he constituted judges, and by God's assistance, overcame his enemies.

§. 1. WHEN Jehoshaphat the king was come to Jerusalem, from the assistance he had afforded Ahab, the king of Israel, when he fought with Benhadad, king of Syria, the prophet Jehu met him, and accused him for assisting Ahab, a man both impious and wicked; and said to him, That "God "was displeased with him for so doing, but that he delivered "him from the enemy, notwithstanding he had sinned, because "of his own proper disposition, which was good." Whereupon the king betook himself to thanksgivings and sacrifices to God: after which he presently went over all that country which he ruled round about; and taught the people, as well the laws which God gave them by Moses, as that religious worship that was due to him. He also constituted judges in every one of the cities of his kingdom; and charged them "to have regard "to nothing so much in judging the multitude as to do justice, "and not to be moved by bribes, nor by the dignity of men "eminent for either their riches or their high birth, but to "distribute justice equally to all, as knowing that God is con-"scious of every secret action of theirs." When he had himself instructed them thus, and gone over every city of the two tribes, he returned to Jerusalem. He there also constituted

MAP OF THE
Holy Land
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
MOUTHS OF THE NILE
SYRIA
Heliopolis
Balbeck
CŒLOSYRIA
PALMYRENE
Damascus
Trachonite Arabians
Trachonitis
Hagarenites
Tribe of Ishmaelites
DESERT OF SYRIA
AMMONITES
LAND OF MOAB
Amalekites
Desert of Kadesh
Desert of Shur
EDOM
IDUMÆA
Petra
DESERT
ARABIA
Tebuc
Land of Rameses
MEMPHIS
Babylon
CAIRO
Kingdom of
Pyramides
Wilderness of Sin
THE RED SEA

judges out * of the priests and the Levites, and principal persons of the multitude, and admonished them to pass all their sentences with care and justice. And that if any of the people of his country had differences of great consequence, they should send them out of the other cities to these judges, who would be obliged to give righteous sentences concerning such causes; and this with the greater care, because it is proper that the sentences which are given in that city wherein the temple of God is, and wherein the king dwells, be given with great care, and the utmost justice. Now he set over them Amariah the priest, and Zebadiah, [both] of the tribe of Judah: and after this manner it was that the king ordered these affairs.

2. About the same time the Moabites and Ammonites made an expedition against Jehoshaphat, and took with them a great body of Arabians, and pitched their camp at Engedi, a city that is situate at the lake Asphaltitis, and distant three hundred furlongs from Jerusalem. In that place grows the best kind of palm-trees, and the † opobalsamum. Now Jehoshaphat heard that the enemies had passed over the lake, and had made an irruption into that country which belonged to his kingdom; at which news he was affrighted, and called the people of Jerusalem to a congregation in the temple, and standing over against the temple itself, he called upon God, "To afford him power and "strength, so as to inflict punishment on those that made this "expedition against them, (for that those who built this his tem-"ple had prayed, that he would protect that city, and take ven-"geance on those that were so bold as to come against it), for "they are come to take from us that land which thou hast gi-"ven us for a possession." When he had prayed thus, he fell into tears; and the whole multitude, together with their wives and children, made their supplications also: Upon which a certain prophet, Jahaziel, by name, came into the midst of the assembly, and cried out, and spake both to the multitude and to the king, that God heard their prayers, and promised to fight against their enemies He also gave order that the king should draw his forces out the next day, for that he should find them between Jerusalem, and the ascent of Engedi, at a place, called the *Eminence*, and that he should not fight against them, but only stand still, and see how God would fight against them. When the prophet had said this, both the king and the multitude fell upon their

* These judges, constituted by Jehoshaphat, were a kind of Jerusalem sanhedrim, out of the priests, the Levites, and the principal of the people, both here and 2 Chron. xix. 8. much like the old Christian judicatures of the bishop, the presbyters, the deacons, and the people.

† Concerning this precious balsam, see the note on Antiq. B. VIII. ch. vi. sect. 6.

faces, and gave thanks to God, and worshipped him; and the Levites continued singing hymns to God with their instruments of music.

3. As soon as it was day, and the king was come into that wilderness which is under the city of Tekoa, he said to the multitude, that "they ought to give credit to what the prophet had "said, and not to set themselves in array for fighting, but to set "the priests with their trumpets, and the Levites, with the sing- "ers of hymns, to give thanks to God, as having already deliver- "ed our country from our enemies." This opinion of the king pleased [the people], and they did what he advised them to do. So God caused a terror and a commotion to arise among the Ammonites, who thought one another to be enemies, and slew one another, insomuch that not one man out of so great an army escaped: and when Jehoshaphat looked upon that valley wherein their enemies had been encamped, and saw it full of dead men; he rejoiced at so surprising an event, as was this assistance of God, while he himself by his own power, and without their labour, had given them the victory. He also gave his army leave to take the prey of the enemies' camp, and to spoil their dead bodies; and indeed so they did for three days together, till they were weary, so great was the number of the slain; and on the fourth day, all the people were gathered together, unto a certain hollow place or valley, and blessed God for his power and assistance, from which the place had this name given it, *the valley of* [*Berachah*, or] *blessing*.

4. And when the king had brought his army back to Jerusalem, he betook himself to celebrate festivals, and offer sacrifices, and this for many days. And, indeed, after this destruction of their enemies, and when it came to the ears of the foreign nations they were all greatly affrighted, as supposing that God would openly fight for him hereafter. So Jehoshaphat from that time lived in great glory and splendour, on account of his righteousness and his piety towards God. He was also in friendship with Ahab's son, who was king of Israel: and he joined with him in the building of ships that were to sail to * Pontus, and the

* What are here *Pontus* and *Thrace*, as the places whither Jehoshaphat's fleet sailed, are in our other copies *Ophir* and *Tarshish*, and the place whence it sailed is in them *Eziongeber*, which lay on the Red Sea, whence it was impossible for any ships to sail to Pontus or Thrace; so that Josephus's copy differed from our other copies, as is farther plain from his own words, which render what we read, that *the ships were broken at Eziongeber, from their* unweildy *greatness*. But so far we may conclude, that Josephus thought one *Ophir* to be somewhere in the Mediterranean, and not in the South Sea, though perhaps there might be another Ophir in that South Sea also, and that fleets might then sail both from Phenicia, and from the Red Sea to fetch the *gold of Ophir*.

traffic cities of Thrace; but he failed of his gains, for the ships were destroyed by being so great [and unweildy]; on which account he was no longer concerned about shipping. And this is the history of Jehoshaphat the king of Jerusalem.

CHAP. II.

Concerning Ahaziah, the king of Israel, and again concerning the prophet Elijah.

§ 1. And now Ahaziah, the son of Ahab, reigned over Israel, and made his abode in Samaria. He was a wicked man, and, in all respects, like to both his parents, and to Jeroboam, who first of all transgressed, and began to deceive the people. On the second year of his reign, the king of Moab fell off from his obedience, and left off paying those tributes which he before paid to his father Ahab. Now it happened that Ahaziah, as he was coming down from the top of his house, fell down from it, and in his sickness sent to the * Fly, which was the god of Ekron, for that was this god's name, to inquire about his recovery: But the god of the Hebrews appeared to Elijah the prophet, and commanded him to go and meet the messengers that were sent, and to ask them, "Whether the people of "Israel had not a god of their own, that the king sent to a "foreign god to inquire about his recovery? and to bid them "return and tell the king, that he would not escape this disease." And when Elijah had performed what God had commanded him, and the messengers had heard what he said, they returned to the king immediately: and when the king wondered how they could return so soon, and asked them the reason of it, they said, that a "certain man met them, and forbade them to go on any farther; "but to return and tell thee, from the command of the God of "Israel, that this disease will have a bad end." And when the king bid them describe the man that said this to them, they replied, "that he was an hairy man, and was girt about with a girdle "of leather." So the king understood by this that the man who was described by the messengers was Elijah; whereupon he sent a captain to him, with fifty soldiers, and commanded them to bring Elijah to him; and when the captain that was sent found Elijah sitting upon the top of an hill, he commanded him to come down, and to come to the king, for so had he enjoined, but that in case he refused, they would carry him by force. Elijah said to him, "That you may have a trial whether I be a true pro-

* This *god of flies* seems to have been so called, as was the like god among the Greeks; from his supposed power over flies in driving them away from the flesh of their sacrifices, which otherwise would have been very troublesome to them.

" phet, I will pray that * fire may fall from heaven, and destroy " both the soldiers and yourself." So he prayed, and a whirlwind of fire [fell from heaven] and destroyed the captain, and those that were with him. And when the king was informed of the destruction of these men, he was very angry and sent another captain with the like number of armed men that were sent before. And when this captain also threatened the prophet, that unless he came down of his own accord, he would take him and carry him away; upon his prayer against him, the fire [from heaven] slew this captain as well as the other. And when upon inquiry, the king was informed of what happened to him, he sent out a third captain. But when this captain, who was a wise man, and of a mild disposition, came to the place where Elijah happened to be, and spake civilly to him; and said, That " he " knew that it was without his own consent, and only in submis- " sion to the king's command that he came unto him; and that " those that came before did not come willingly, but on the same " account: He therefore desired him to have pity on those armed " men that were with him; and that he would come down and " follow him to the king." So Elijah accepted of his discreet words and courteous behaviour, and came down and followed him. And when he came to the king, he prophesied to him, and told him, that " God said, Since thou hast despised him as not " being God, and so unable to foretel the truth about thy distem- " per, but has sent to the god of Ekron to inquire of him what " will be the end of this thy distemper, know this, that thou " shalt die."

2. Accordingly the king in a very little time died, as Elijah had foretold; but Jehoram his brother succeeded him in the kingdom, for he died without children: but for this Jehoram, he

* It is commonly esteemed a very cruel action of Elijah's, when he called for a fire from heaven, and consumed no fewer than two captains and an hundred soldiers, and this for no other crime than obeying the orders of their king, in attempting to seize him; and it is owned by our Saviour, that it was an instance of greater severity than the spirit of the New Testament allows, Luke ix. 54. But then we must consider that it is not unlikely that these captains and soldiers believed that they were sent to fetch the prophet, that he might be put to death for foretelling the death of the king, and this while they knew him to be the prophet of the true God, the supreme king of Israel (for they were still under the theocracy), which was no less than impiety, rebellion, and treason, in the highest degree: Nor would the command of a subaltern, or inferior captain, contradicting the commands of the general, when the captain and the soldiers both knew it to be so, as I suppose, justify or excuse such gross rebellion and disobedience in soldiers at this day. Accordingly, when Saul commanded his guards to slay Ahimelech, and the priests at Nob, they knew it to be an unlawful command, and would not obey it, 1 Sam. xxii. 17. From which cases both officers and soldiers may learn, that the commands of their leaders or kings cannot justify or excuse them in doing what is wicked in the sight of God, or in fighting in an unjust cause, when they know it so to be.

was like his father Ahab in wickedness, and reigned twelve years, indulging himself in all sorts of wickedness, and impiety towards God, for leaving off his worship, he worshipped foreign gods: but in other respects he was an active man. Now at this time it was that Elijah disappeared from among men, and no one knows of his death to this very day; but he left behind him his disciple Elisha as we have formerly declared. And indeed, as to Elijah, and as to Enoch, who was before the deluge, it is written in the sacred books that they disappeared, but so that nobody knew that they died.

CHAP. III.

How Joram and Jehoshaphat made an expedition against the Moabites: As also concerning the wonders of Elisha; and the death of Jehoshaphat.

§ 1. When Joram had taken upon him the kingdom, he determined to make an expedition against the king of Moab, whose name was *Mesha*; for, as we told you before, he was departed from his obedience to his brother [Ahaziah], while he paid to his father Ahab two hundred thousand sheep, with their fleeces of wool. When therefore he had gathered his own army together, he sent also to Jehoshaphat, and entreated him, that since he had from the beginning been a friend to his father; he would assist him in the war that he was entering into against the Moabites, who had departed from their obedience, who not only himself promised to assist him, but would also oblige the king of Edom, who was under his authority, to make the same expedition also. When Joram had received these assurances of assistance from Jehoshaphat, he took his army with him, and came to Jerusalem; and when he had been sumptuously entertained by the king of Jerusalem, it was resolved upon by them to take their march against their enemies through the wilderness of Edom; And when they had taken a compass of seven days journey, they were in distress for want of water for the cattle, and for the army, from the mistake of their roads by the guides that conducted them, insomuch that they were all in an agony, especially Joram; and cried to God, by reason of their sorrow, and [desired to know] what wickedness had been committed by them that induced him to deliver three kings together, without fighting, unto the king of Moab. But Jehoshaphat, who was a righteous man, encouraged him, and bid him send to the camp, and know whether any prophet of God was come along with them, that we might by him learn from God what we should do. And when one of the servants of Joram said, that he had seen there Elisha, the son of Shaphat, the disciple of

Elijah, the three kings went to him at the entreaty of Jehoshaphat; and when they were come at the prophet's tent, which tent was pitched out of the camp, they asked him, "What "would become of the army?" and Joram was particularly very pressing with him about it. And when he replied to him, That "he should not trouble him, but go to his father's and "mother's prophets, for they [to be sure] were true prophets," he still desired him to prophesy, and to save them. So he swore by God, that he would not answer him unless it were on account of Jehoshaphat, who was an holy and righteous man, and when, at his desire, they brought him a man that could play on the psaltery, the Divine Spirit came upon him as the music played, and he commanded them to dig many trenches in the valley; for, said he, "Though there appear neither cloud, nor "wind, nor storm of rain, ye shall see this valley full of water, "till the army and the cattle be saved for you by drinking of "it: Nor will this be all the favour that you shall receive "from God, but you shall also overcome your enemies, and "take the best and strongest cities of the Moabites, and you "shall * cut down their fruit trees, and lay waste their coun-"try, and stop up their fountains and rivers."

2. When the prophet had said this, the next day, before the sun rising, a great torrent ran strongly; for God had caused it to rain very plentifully at the distance of three day's journey into Edom; so that the army and the cattle found water to drink in abundance. But when the Moabites heard that the three kings were coming upon them, and made their approach through the wilderness, the king of Moab gathered his army together presently, and commanded them to pitch their camp upon the mountains, that when the enemies should attempt to enter their country, they might not be concealed from them. But when at the rising of the sun they saw the water in the torrent, for it was not far from the land of Moab, and that it was of the colour of blood, for at such a time the water especially looks red, by the shining of the sun upon it, they formed a false notion of the state of their enemies, as if they had slain one another for thirst; and that the river ran with their blood. However, supposing that this was the case, they desired their king would send them out to spoil their enemies; whereupon they

* This practice of cutting down, or plucking up by the roots, the fruit trees, was forbidden, even in ordinary wars, by the law of Moses, Deut. xx. 19, 20. and only allowed by God in this particular case, when the Moabites were to be punished and cut off in an extraordinary manner for their wickedness. See Jer. xlviii. 11, 12, 13. and many the like prophecies against them. Nothing could therefore justify this practice but a particular commission from God by his prophet, as in the present case, which was ever a sufficient warrant for breaking any such ritual or ceremonial law whatsoever.

all went in haste, as to an advantage already gained, and came to the enemies' camp, as supposing them destroyed already.—But their hope deceived them, for as their enemies stood round about them, some of them were cut to pieces, and others of them were dispersed, and fled to their own country. And when the kings fell into the land of Moab, they overthrew the cities that were in it, and spoiled their fields, and marred them, filling them with stones out of the brooks, and cut down the best of their trees, and stopped up their fountains of water, and overthrew their walls to their foundations. But the king of Moab, when he was pursued, endured a siege, and seeing his city in danger of being overthrown by force, made a sally, and went out with seven hundred men, in order to break through the enemies' camp with his horsemen, on that side where the watch seemed to be kept most negligently: and when, upon trial, he could not get away, for he light upon a place that was carefully watched, he returned into the city, and did a thing that showed despair and the utmost distress; for he took his eldest son, who was to reign after him, and lifting him up upon the wall, that he might be visible to all the enemies, he offered him as a whole burnt-offering to God, whom, when the kings saw, they commiserated the distress that was the occasion of it, and were so affected, in way of humanity and pity, that they raised the siege, and every one returned to his own house. So Jehoshaphat came to Jerusalem, and continued in peace there, and out-lived this expedition but a little time, and then died, having lived in all sixty years, and of them reigned twenty-five. He was buried in a magnificent manner in Jerusalem, for he had imitated the actions of David.

CHAP. IV.

Jehoram succeeds Jehoshaphat: how Joram, his namesake, king of Israel, fought with the Syrians; and what wonders were done by the prophet Elisha.

§ 1. Jehoshaphat had a good number of children; but he appointed his eldest son Jehoram, to be his successor, who had the same name with his mother's brother, that was king of Israel, and the son of Ahab. Now when the king of Israel was come out of the land of Moab to Samaria, he had with him Elisha the prophet, whose acts I have a mind to go over particularly, for they were illustrious and worthy to be related, as we have set them down in the sacred books.

2. For they say that the * widow of Obadiah, Ahab's steward,

* That this woman who cried to Elisha, and who in our Bible is styled *the wife of one of the sons of the prophets*, 2 Kings iv. 1. was no other than the

came to him; and said, That "he was not ignorant how her "husband had preserved the prophets that were to be slain by "Jezebel, the wife of Ahab: for she said that he hid an hundred "of them, and had borrowed money for their maintenance; "that after her husband's death, she and her children were car-"ried away to be made slaves by the creditors; and she desired of "him to have mercy upon her on account of what her hus-"band did, and afford her some assistance." And when he asked her what she had in the house, she said, Nothing but a very small quantity of oil in a cruse. So the prophet bid her go away, and borrow a great many empty vessels of her neighbours, and when she had shut her chamber door, to pour the oil into them all; for God would fill them full. And when the woman had done what she was commanded to do, and bade her children bring every one of the vessels, and all were filled, and not one left empty, she came to the prophet, and told him that they were all full: Upon which he advised her to go away, and sell the oil, and pay the creditors what was owing to them, for that there would be some surplus of the price of the oil, which she might make use of for the maintenance of her children. And thus did Elisha discharge the woman's debts, and free her from the vexation of her creditors.

3. * Elisha also sent an hasty message to Joram and exhorted him to take care of that place, for that therein were some Sy-

widow of Obadiah, the good steward of Ahab, is confirmed by the Chaldee paraphrast, and by the Rabbins and others. Nor is that unlikely which Josephus here adds, that these debts were contracted by her husband for the support of those *hundred of the Lord's prophets, whom he maintained by fifty in a cave,* in the days of Ahab and Jezebel, 1 Kings xviii. 4. which circumstance rendered it highly fit that the prophet Elisha should provide her a remedy, and enable her to redeem herself and her sons from the fear of that slavery which insolvent debtors were liable to by the law of Moses, Levit. xxv. 39. Matt. xviii. 25. which he did accordingly, with God's help, at the expense of a miracle.

* Dr. Hudson, with very good reason, suspects that there is no small defect in our present copies of Josephus; just before the beginning of this section, and that chiefly, as to that distinct account which he had given us reason to expect in the first section, and to which he seems to refer, chap. viii. § 6. concerning the glorious miracles which Elisha wrought, which indeed in our Bibles are not a few, 2 Kings iv—ix. but of which we have several omitted in Josephus's present copies. One of these histories, omitted at present, was evidently in his Bible, I mean that of the curing of Naaman's leprosy, 2 Kings v. for he plainly alludes to it, B. III. chap. xi. § 4. where he observes, That "there were lepers in many "nations who yet have been in honour, and not only free from reproach and a-"voidance, but who have been great captains of armies, and been entrusted with "high offices in the commonwealth, and have had the privilege of entering into "holy places and temples." But what makes me most regret the want of that history in our present copies of Josephus, is this, that we have here, as it is commonly understood, one of the greatest difficulties in all the Bible, that in 2 Kings v. 18, 19. where Naaman, after he had been miraculously cured by a prophet of the true God, and had thereupon promised, ver. 17. that "he would hence-

rians lying in ambush to kill him. So the king did as the prophet exhorted him, and avoided his going a hunting. And when Benhadad missed of the success of his lying in ambush, he was wroth with his own servants, as if they had betrayed his ambushment to Joram; and sent for them, and said they were the betrayers of his secret counsels; and he threatened that he would put them to death, since such their practice was evident, because he had entrusted this secret to none but them, and yet it was made known to his enemy. And when one that was present said, that "he should not mistake himself; nor suspect that "they had discovered to his enemy his sending men to kill him, "but that he ought to know that it was Elisha the prophet "who discovered all to him, and laid open all his counsels," he gave order that they should send some to learn in what city Elisha dwelt. Accordingly those that were sent brought word, that he was in Dothan: wherefore Benhadad sent to that city a great army, with horses and chariots, to take Elisha; so they encompassed the city round about by night, and kept him therein confined: but when the prophet's servant in the morning perceived this, and that his enemies sought to take Elisha, he came running and crying out after a disordered manner to him, and told him of it; but he encouraged him, and bid him not be afraid, and to despise the enemy, and trust in the assistance of God, and was himself without fear; and he besought God to make manifest to his servant his power and presence, so far as was possible, in order to the inspiring him with hope and courage. Accordingly God heard the prayer of the prophet, and made the servant see a multitude of chariots and horses encompassing Elisha, till he laid aside his fear, and his courage revived at the sight of what he supposed was come to their assistance. After this Elisha did farther entreat God, that he would dim the eyes of their enemies, and cast a mist before them, whereby they might not discern him. When this was done, he went into the midst of his enemies, and asked them who it was that they came to seek; and when they replied, the prophet Elisha, he promised he would deliver him to them, if they would follow him to the city where he was. So these men were so darkened by God in their sight and in their mind, that they followed him very diligently; and when Elisha had brought them to Samaria, he ordered Joram the king to shut the gates, and to place his own army round

forth offer neither burnt-offering nor sacrifice unto other gods, but unto the Lord, adds, In this thing the Lord pardon thy servant, that when my master goeth into the house of Rimmon to worship there, and he leaneth on my hands, and I bow myself in the house of Rimmon; when I bow down myself in the house of Rimmon, the Lord pardon thy servant in this thing. And Elisha said, Go in peace." This looks like a prophet's permission for being partaker in idolatry itself, out of compliance with an idolatrous court.

about them; and prayed to God to clear the eyes of these their enemies, and take the mist from before them. Accordingly when they were freed from the obscurity they had been in; they saw themselves in the midst of their enemies; and as the Syrians were strangely amazed and distressed, as was but reasonable, at an action so divine and surprising; and as king Joram asked the prophet, if he would give him leave to shoot at them: Elisha forbade him so to do; and said, that " it is just to kill those that " are taken in battle, but that these men had done the country " no harm, but without knowing it, were come thither by the " divine power." So that his counsel was to treat them in an hospitable manner at his table, and then send them away without hurting them. * Wherefore Joram obeyed the prophet; and when he had feasted the Syrians in a splendid and magnificent manner, he let them go to Benhadad their king.

4. Now when these men were come back, and had shewed Benhadad how strange an accident had befallen them, and what an appearance and power they had experienced of the God of Israel, he wondered at it, as also at that prophet with whom God was so evidently present: so he determined to make no more secret attempts upon the king of Israel, out of fear of Elisha, but resolved to make open war with them, as supposing he could be too hard for his enemies by the multitude of his army and power. So he made an expedition with a great army, against Joram, who, not thinking himself a match for him, shut himself up in Samaria, and depended on the strength of its walls; but Benhadad supposed he should take the city, if not by his engines of war, yet that he should overcome the Samaritans by famine, and the want of necessaries, and brought his army upon them, and besieged the city: and the plenty of necessaries was brought so low with Joram, that from the extremity of want an ass's head was sold in Samaria, for fourscore pieces of silver, and the Hebrews bought a sextary of dove's dung, instead of salt, for five pieces of silver. Now Joram was in fear lest somebody should betray the city to the enemy, by reason of the famine, and went every day round the walls and the guards, to see whether any such were concealed among them; and by being thus seen, and taking such care, he deprived them of the opportunity of contriving any such thing, and if they had a mind to do it, he, by this means, prevented them; but upon a certain woman's crying out, " Have pity on

* Upon occasion of this stratagem of Elisha's in Josephus, we may take notice that although Josephus was one of the greatest lovers of truth in the world, yet in a just war he seems to have had no manner of scruple upon him by all such stratagems possible to deceive public enemies. See also Josephus's account of Jeremiah's imposition on the great men of the Jews in somewhat a like case. Antiq. B. X. ch. vii, sect. 6, and 2 Sam. xvi. 16, &c.

"me, my Lord," while he thought that she was about to ask for somewhat to eat, he imprecated God's curse upon her, and said, "he had neither threshing floor, nor wine-press, whence he "might give her any thing at her petition." Upon which she said, "She did not desire his aid in any such thing, nor trouble "him about food, but desired that he would do her justice as to "another woman." And when he bade her say on, and let him know what she desired, she said, "She had made an agreement "with the other woman, who was her neighbour and her friend, "that because the famine and want was intolerable, they should "kill their children, each of them having a son of their own, "and we will live upon them ourselves for two days, the one day "upon one son, and the other day upon the other: and, said she, "I have killed my son the first day, and we lived upon my son "yesterday, but this other woman will not do the same thing, "but hath broken her agreement, and hath hid her son." This story mightily grieved Joram when he heard it; so he rent his garment, and cried out with a loud voice, and conceived great wrath against Elisha the prophet, and set himself eagerly to have him slain, because he did not pray to God to provide them some exit and way of escape out of the miseries with which they were surrounded, and sent one away immediately to cut off his head, who made haste to kill the prophet; but Elisha was not unacquainted with the wrath of the king against him; for as he sat in his house by himself, with none but his disciples about him, he told them, that Joram, * who was the son of a murderer, had sent one to take away his head; but, said he, "when he that is "commanded to do this comes, take care that ye do not let him "come in, but press the door against him, and hold him fast "there, for the king himself will follow him, and come "to me having altered his mind." Accordingly, they did as they were bidden, when he that was sent by the king to kill Elisha came; but Joram repented of his wrath against the prophet, and for fear he that was commanded to kill him should have done it before he came, he made haste to hinder his slaughter, and to save the prophet: and when he came to him, he accused him that he did not pray to God for their deliverance from the miseries they lay now under, but saw them so sadly destroyed by them. Hereupon Elisha promised, that the very next

* This *son of a murderer* was Joram, the son of Ahab, which Ahab slew, or permitted his wife Jezebel to slay the Lord's prophets, and Naboth, 1 Kings xviii. 4. xxi. 19. and he is here called by this name, I suppose, because he had now also himself sent an officer to *murder* him; yet is Josephus's account of Joram's coming himself at last, as repenting of his intended cruelty, much more probable than that in our copies, 2 Kings vi. 33. which rather implies the contrary.

day, at the very same hour in which the king came to him, they should have great plenty of food, and that two seah of barley should be sold in the market for a shekel, and a seah of fine flour should be sold for a shekel. This prediction made Joram, and those that were present, very joyful, for they did not scruple believing what the prophet said, on account of the experience they had of the truth of his former predictions; and the expectation of plenty made the want they were in that day, with the uneasiness that accompanied it, appear a light thing to them: but the captain of the third band, who was a friend of the king's, and on whose hand the king leaned, said, "Thou talkest of in-"credible things, O prophet! for as it is impossible for God to "pour down torrents of barley, or fine flour, out of heaven, so "is it impossible that what thou sayest should come to pass." To which the prophet made this reply, "Thou shalt see these "things come to pass, but thou shalt not be in the least a par-"taker of them."

5. Now what Elisha had thus foretold, came to pass in the manner following: There was a * law at Samaria, that those that had the leprosy, and whose bodies were not cleansed from it, should abide without the city; and there were four men that on this account abode before the gates, while nobody gave them any food, by reason of the extremity of the famine: and as they were prohibited from entering into the city by the law, and they considered that if they were permitted to enter, they should miserably perish by the famine, as also, that if they staid where they were, they should suffer in the same manner, they resolved to deliver themselves up to the enemy, that in case they should spare them, they should live, but if they should be killed, that would be an easy death. So when they had confirmed this their resolution, they came by night to the enemies' camp. Now God had begun to affright and disturb the Syrians, and to bring the noise of chariots and armour to their ears, as though an army were coming upon them, and had made them suspect that it was coming nearer and nearer to them. In short, they were in such a dread of this army, that they left their tents, and ran together to Benhadad, and said, That "Joram the king of Israel had hired "for auxiliaries, both the king of Egypt and the king of the "islands, and led them against them, for they heard the noise of "them as they were coming." And Benhadad believed what they said (for there came the same noise to his ears as well as it did to theirs), so they fell into a mighty disorder and tumult, and left their horses and beasts in their camp, with immense

* This law of the Jews, for the exclusion of lepers out of the camp in the wilderness, and out of the cities in Judea, is a well known one, Lev. xiii. 46. and Num. v. 1—4.

riches also, and betook themselves to flight. And those lepers who had departed from Samaria, and were gone to the camp of the Syrians, of whom we made mention a little before, when they were in the camp, saw nothing but great quietness and silence: accordingly they entered into it, and went hastily into one of their tents, and when they saw nobody there they eat and drank, and carried garments and a great quantity of gold, and hid it out of the camp; after which they went into another tent, and carried off what was in it, as they did at the former, and this did they for several times, without the least interruption from any body. So they gathered thereby that the enemies were departed; whereupon they reproached themselves that they did not inform Joram and the citizens of it. So they came to the walls of Samaria, and called aloud to the watchmen, and told them in what state the enemies were, as did these tell the king's guards, by whose means Joram came to know of it; who then sent for his friends, and the captains of his host, and said to them, That "he suspected that this departure of the king of Syria was by way of ambush and treachery, and that out of despair of ruining you by famine, when you imagine them to be fled away, you may come out of the city to spoil their camp, and he may then fall upon you on a sudden, and may both kill you, and take the city without fighting; whence it is that I exhort you to guard the city carefully, and by no means to go out of it, or proudly to despise your enemies, as though they were really gone away." And when a certain person said, that "he did very well and wisely to admit such a suspicion, but that he still advised him to send a couple of horsemen to search all the country, as far as Jordan, that if they were seized by an ambush of the enemy, they might be a security to your army, that they may not go out as if they suspected nothing, nor undergo the like misfortune; and, (said he), those horsemen may be numbered among those that have died by the famine, supposing they be caught and destroyed by the enemy." So the king was pleased with this opinion and sent such as might search out the truth, who performed their journey over a road that was without any enemies, but found it full of provisions, and of weapons, that they had therefore thrown away, and left behind them, in order to their being light and expeditious in their flight. When the king heard this, he sent out the multitude to take the spoils of the camp; which gains of theirs was not of things of small value, but they took a great quantity of gold, and a great quantity of silver, and flocks of all kinds of cattle. They also possessed themselves of [so many] ten thousand measures of wheat and barley, as they never in the least dreamed of; and were not only freed from

their former miseries, but had such plenty, that two seahs of barley were bought for a shekel, and a seah of fine flour for a shekel, according to the prophecy of Elisha. Now a seah is equal to an Italian modius and a half. The captain of the third band was the only man that received no benefit by this plenty; for as he was appointed by the king to oversee the gate, that he might prevent the too great a crowd of the multitude, and they might not endanger one another to perish, by treading on one another in the press, he suffered himself in that very way, and died in that very manner, as Elisha had foretold such his death, when he alone of them all disbelieved what he said concerning that plenty of provisions which they should soon have.

6. Hereupon, when Benhadad, the king of Syria, had escaped to Damascus, and understood that it was God himself that cast all his army into this fear and disorder, and that it did not arise from the invasion of enemies, he was mightily cast down at his having God so greatly for his enemy, and fell into a distemper. Now it happened that Elisha the prophet, at that time, was gone out of his own country to Damascus, of which Benhadad was informed; he sent Hazael, the most faithful of all his servants to meet him, and to carry him presents, and bade him inquire of him about his distemper, and whether he should escape the danger that it threatened. So Hazael came to Elisha with forty camels, that carried the best and most precious fruits that the country of Damascus afforded, as well as those which the king's palace supplied. He saluted him kindly, and said, That "he was sent to him by king Benhadad, and brought presents "with him, in order to inquire concerning his distemper, whe-"ther he should recover from it or not?" Whereupon the prophet bid him tell the king no melancholy news, but still he said he would die. So, the king's servant was troubled to hear it; and Elisha wept also, and his tears ran down plenteously at his foresight of what miseries his people would undergo after the death of Benhadad. And when Hazael asked, what was the occasion of this confusion he was in? he said, That "he "wept out of his commiseration for the multitude of the Israel-"ites, and what terrible miseries they will suffer by thee; for "thou wilt slay the strongest of them, and will burn their "strongest cities, and will destroy their children, and dash them "against the stones, and will rip up their women with child." And when Hazael said, "How can it be that I should have "power enough to do such things? the prophet replied, "That "God had informed him that he should be king of Syria." So when Hazael was come to Benhadad, he told him good news concerning his distemper; * but on the next day he spread a

* Since Elijah did not live to anoint Hazael king of Syria himself, as he was empowered to do, 1 Kings xix. 15. it was most probably now done, in his name,

wet cloth, in the nature of a net over him, and strangled him, and took his dominion. He was an active man, and had the good-will of the Syrians, and of the people of Damascus to a great degree; by whom both Benhadad himself, and Hazael, who ruled after him, are honoured to this day as gods by reason of their benefactions, and their building them temples, by which they adorned the city of the Damascenes. They also every day do with great pomp pay their worship * to these kings, and value themselves upon their antiquity; nor do they know that these kings are much later than they imagine, and that they are not yet eleven hundred years old. Now when Joram, the king of Israel, heard that Benhadad was dead, he recovered out of the terror and dread he had been in on his account, and was very glad to live in peace.

CHAP. V.

Concerning the wickedness of Jehoram king of Jerusalem. His defeat and death.

§ 1. Now Jehoram the king of Jerusalem, for we have said before that he had the same name with the king of Israel, as soon as he had taken the government upon him, betook himself to the slaughter of his brethren, and his father's friends, who were governors under him, and thence made a beginning, and a demonstration of his wickedness; nor was he at all better than those kings of Israel who at first transgressed against the laws of their country, and of the Hebrews, and against God's worship. And it was Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab, whom he had married, who taught him to be a bad man in other respects, and also to worship foreign gods. Now God would not quite root out this family, because of the promise he had made

by his servant and successor Elisha: Nor does it seem to me otherwise, but that Benhadad immediately recovered of his disease, as the prophet foretold; and that Hazael, upon his being anointed to succeed him, though he ought to have staid till he died by the course of nature, or some other way of divine punishment, as did David for many years in the like case, was too impatient, and the very next day, smothered or strangled him, in order to come directly to the succession.

* What Mr. Le Clerc pretends here, that it is more probable that Hazael and his son were worshipped by the Syrians, and people of Damascus, till the days of Josephus, than Benhadad and Hazael, because under Benhadad they had greatly suffered, and because it is almost incredible, that both a king, and that king's murderer should be worshipped by the same Syrians, is of little force against those records out of which Josephus drew this history, especially when it is likely that they thought Benhadad died of the distemper he laboured under, and not by Hazael's treachery. Besides, the reason that Josephus gives for this adoration, and that these two kings had been great benefactors to the inhabitants of Damascus, and had built them temples, is too remote from the political suspicions of Le Clerc; nor ought such weak suspicions to be deemed of any force against authentic testimonies of antiquity.

to David. However, Jehoram did not leave off the introduction of new sorts of customs, to the propagation of impiety, and to the ruin of the customs of his own country. And when the Edomites about that time had revolted from him, and slain their former king, who was in subjection to his father, and had set up one of their own choosing, Jehoram fell upon the land of Edom, with the horsemen that were about him, and the chariots, by night, and destroyed those that lay near to his own kingdom, but did not proceed farther. However, this expedition did him no service, for they all revolted from him, with those that dwelt in the country of Libnah. He was indeed so mad, as to compel the people to go up to the high places of the mountains, and worship foreign gods.

2. And as he was doing this, and had entirely cast his own country laws out of his mind, there was brought him an epistle * from Elijah the prophet, which declared that "God would execute great judgments upon him, because he had not imitated "his own fathers, but had followed the wicked courses of the "kings of Israel; and had compelled the tribe of Judah, and "the citizens of Jerusalem, to leave the holy worship of their "own God, and to worship idols, as Ahab had compelled the "Israelites to do, and because he had slain his brethren, and the "men that were good and righteous. And the prophet gave "him notice in this epistle, what punishment he should under"go for these crimes, namely, the destruction of his people, "with the corruption of the king's own wives and children, "and that he should himself die of a distemper in his bowels, "with long torments, those his bowels falling out by the vio"lence of the inward rottenness of the parts, insomuch, that "though he see his own misery, he shall not be able at all to "help himself, but shall die in that manner." Thus it was which Elijah denounced to him in that epistle.

3. It was not long after this that an army of those Arabians that lived near to Ethiopia, and of the Philistines, fell upon the kingdom of Jehoram, and spoiled the country and the king's house: Moreover, they slew his sons and his wives: one only of his sons was left him, who escaped the enemy; his name was *Ahaziah:* After which calamity, he himself fell into that disease which was foretold by the prophet, and lasted a great while (for God inflicted this punishment upon him in his belly,

* This epistle, in some copies of Josephus, is said to come to Joram from Elijah, with this addition, *for he was yet upon earth,* which could not be true of Elijah, who, as all agree, was gone from the earth about four years before, and could only be true of Elisha: nor, perhaps, is there any more mystery here, than that the name of Elijah has very anciently crept into the text instead of Elisha, by the copiers, there being nothing in any copy of that epistle peculiar to Elijah.

out of his wrath against him), and so he died miserably, and saw his own bowels fall out. The people also abused his dead body: I suppose it was because they thought that such his death came upon him by the wrath of God, and that therefore he was not worthy to partake of such a funeral as became kings. Accordingly, they neither buried him in the sepulchres of his fathers, nor vouchsafed him any honours, but buried him like a private man, and this when he had lived forty years, and reigned eight: And the people of Jerusalem delivered the government to his son Ahaziah.

CHAP. VI.

How Jehu was anointed king and slew both Joram and Ahaziah; as also what he did for the punishment of the wicked.

§ 1. Now Joram the king of Israel, after the death of Benhadad, hoped that he might now take Ramoth, a city of Gilead from the Syrians. Accordingly he made an expedition against it, with a great army: but as he was besieging it, an arrow was shot at him by one of the Syrians, but the wound was not mortal: So he returned to have his wound healed in Jezreel, but left his whole army in Ramoth, and Jehu the son of Nimshi for their general, for he had already taken the city by force; and he proposed, after he was healed, to make war with the Syrians; but Elisha the prophet sent one of his disciples to Ramoth, and gave him holy oil to anoint Jehu, and to tell him, that God had chosen him to be their king. He also sent him to say other things to him, and bid him to take his journey as if he fled, that when he came away he might escape the knowledge of all men. So when he was come to the city, he found Jehu sitting in the midst of the captains of the army, as Elisha had foretold he should find him. So he came up to him, and said, that he desired to speak with him about certain matters; and when he was arisen, and had followed him into an inward chamber, the young man took the oil, and poured it on his head, and said, that "God ordained him to be king, in order to his destroying the house of Ahab, and that he might revenge the blood of the prophets, that were unjustly slain by Jezebel, that so their house might utterly perish, as those of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, and of Baasha, had perished for their wickedness, and no seed might remain of Ahab's family." So when he had said this, he went away hastily out of the chamber, and endeavoured not to be seen by any of the army.

2. But Jehu came out, and went to the place where he before sat with the captains: and when they asked him, and desired him to tell them, wherefore it was that this young man came to him?

and added withal that he was mad: he replied, you guess right, for the words he spake were the words of a madman: and when they were eager about the matter, and desired he would tell them, he answered, that God had said, he had chosen him to be king "over the multitude." When he had said this, every one of them * put off his garment, and strewed it under him, and blew with trumpets, and gave notice, that Jehu was king. So when he had gotten the army together, he was preparing to set out immediately against Joram, at the city Jezreel, in which city, as we said before, he was healing of the wound which he had received in the siege of Ramoth. It happened also that Ahaziah, king of Jerusalem, was now come to Joram, for he was his sister's son, as we have said already, to see how he did after his wound, and this upon account of thier kindred; but as Jehu was desirous to fall upon Joram and those with him on the sudden, he desired that none of the soldiers might run away and tell to Joram what had happened, for that this would be an evident demonstration of their kindness to him, and would shew that their real inclinations were to make him king.

3. So they were pleased with what he did, and guarded the roads, lest somebody should privately tell the thing to those that were at Jezreel. Now Jehu took his choice horsemen, and sat upon his chariot, and went on for Jezreel, and when he was come near, the watchmen whom Joram had sent there to spy out such as came to the city, saw Jehu marching on, and told Joram that he saw a troop of horsemen marching on. Upon which he immediately gave orders, that one of his horsemen should be sent out to meet them, and to know who it was that was coming. So when the horseman came up to Jehu, he asked him, in what condition the army was? for that the king wanted to know it; but Jehu bid him not at all to meddle with such matters, but to follow him. When the watchman saw this, he told Joram that the horseman had mingled himself among the company, and came along with them. And when the king had sent a second messenger, Jehu commanded him to do as the former did; as soon as the watchman told this also to Joram, he at last got upon his chariot himself, together with Ahaziah, the king of Jerusalem; for, as we said before, he was there to see how Joram did, after he had been wounded, as being his relation.—So he went out to meet Jehu, who marched † slowly, and in

* Spanheim here notes that this putting off men's garments and strewing them under a king, was an eastern custom, which he elsewhere explained.

† Our copies say, that this "driving of the chariots was like the driving of "Jehu the son of Nimshi, for he driveth furiously," 2 Kings ix. 20. whereas Josephus's copy, as he understood it, was this, that, on the contrary, Jehu marched slowly and in good order. Nor can it be denied, that since there was interval enough for king Joram, to send out two horsemen, one after another,

good order; and when Joram met him in the field of Naboth, he asked him, if all things were well in the camp? but Jehu reproached him bitterly, and ventured to call his mother a witch, and an harlot. Upon this the king fearing what he intended, and suspecting he had no good meaning, he turned his chariot about as soon as he could, and said to Ahaziah, we are fought against by deceit and treachery: But Jehu drew his bow, and smote him, the arrow going through his heart: so Joram fell down immediately on his knee, and gave up the ghost. Jehu also gave orders to Bidkar, the captain of the third part of his army, to cast the dead body of Joram into the field of Naboth, putting him in mind of the prophecy which Elijah prophesied to Ahab his father, when he had slain Naboth, that both he and his family should perish in that place, for that as they sat behind Ahab's chariot, they heard the prophet say so, and that it was now come to pass according to his prophecy. Upon the fall of Joram, Ahaziah was afraid of his own life, and turned his chariot into another road, supposing he should not be seen by Jehu; but he followed after him, and overtook him at a certain acclivity, and drew his bow, and wounded him, so he left his chariot, and got upon his horse, and fled from Jehu to Megiddo, and though he was under cure, in a little time he died of that wound, and was carried to Jerusalem, and buried there, after he had reigned one year, and had proved a wicked man, and worse than his father.

4. Now when Jehu was come to Jezreel, Jezebel adorned herself and stood upon a tower, and said, "he was a fine servant "that had killed his master." And when he looked up to her, he asked who she was? and commanded her to come down to him. At last he ordered the eunuchs to throw her down from the tower, and being thrown down, she besprinkled the wall with her blood, and was trodden upon by the horses, and so died. When this was done, Jehu came to the palace with his friends, and took some refreshment after his journey, both with other things, and by eating a meal. He also bid his servants to take up Jezebel and bury her, because of the nobility of her blood, for she was descended from kings; but those that were appointed to bury her found nothing else remaining but the extreme parts of her body, for all the rest were eaten by dogs. When Jehu heard this, he admired the prophecy of Elijah, for he foretold that she should perish in this manner at Jezreel.

5. Now Ahab had seventy sons brought up in Samaria. So

to Jehu, and at length to go out with king Ahaziah to meet him, and all this after he was come within sight of the watchman, and before he was come to Jezreel, the probability is greatly on the side of Josephus's copy or interpretation.

Jehu sent two epistles, the one to them that brought up the children, the other to the rulers of Samaria, which said, That "they should set up the most valiant of Ahab's sons for king, "for that they had abundance of chariots, and horses, and armour, and a great army, and fenced cities, and that by so doing they might avenge the murder of Ahab." This he wrote to try the intentions of those of Samaria. Now when the rulers, and those that had brought up the children, had read the letter, they were afraid, and considering that they were not at all able to oppose him, and that he had already subdued two very great kings, they returned him this answer, That "they owned him "for their lord, and would do whatsoever he bade them." So he wrote back to them, such a reply as enjoined them to obey what he gave order for, and to cut off the heads of Ahab's sons, and send them to him. Accordingly, the rulers sent for those that brought up the sons of Ahab, and commanded them to slay them, to cut off their heads, and send them to Jehu. So they did whatsoever they were commanded, without omitting any thing at all, and put them up in wicker baskets, and sent them to Jezreel. And when Jehu, as he was at supper with his friends, was informed that the heads of Ahab's sons were brought, he ordered them to make two heaps of them, one before each of the gates, and in the morning he went out to take a view of them, and when he saw them, he began to say to the people that were present, That "he did himself make an expedition against "his master, [Joram], and slew him, but that it was not "he that slew all these: and he desired them to take notice, "that as to Ahab's family, all things had come to pass according to God's prophecy, and his house was perished, according "as Elijah had foretold." And when he had farther destroyed all the kindred of Ahab that were found in Jezreel, he went to Samaria; and as he was upon the road, he met the relations of Ahaziah king of Jerusalem, and asked them, whither they were going? they replied, that they came to salute Joram, and their own king Ahaziah, for they knew not that he had slain them both: So Jehu gave orders that they should catch these, and kill them, being in number forty-two persons.

6. After these, there met him a good and a righteous man, whose name was *Jehonadab;* and who had been his friend of old. He saluted Jehu, and began to commend him, because he had done every thing according to the will of God, in extirpating the house of Ahab. So Jehu desired him to come up into his chariot, and make his entry with him into Samaria; and told him, That "he would not spare one wicked man, but would "punish the false prophets, and false priests, and those that de- "ceived the multitude, and persuaded them to leave the wor- "ship of God Almighty, and to worship foreign gods; and that

"it was a most excellent and most pleasing sight to a good and "a righteous man to see the wicked punished." So Jehonadab was persuaded by these arguments and came up into Jehu's chariot, and came to Samaria. And Jehu sought out for all Ahab's kindred, and slew them. And being desirous that none of the false prophets nor the priests of Ahab's god, might escape punishment, he caught them deceitfully by this wile: for he gathered all the people together, and said, That "he would "worship twice as many gods as Ahab worshipped, and desired "that his priests, and prophets, and servants might be present "because he would offer costly and great sacrifices to Ahab's "god, and that if any of his priests were wanting, they should "be punished with death." Now Ahab's god was called *Baal*. And when he had appointed a day on which he would offer those sacrifices, he sent messengers through all the country of the Israelites, that they might bring the priests of Baal to him. So Jehu commanded to give all the priests vestments; and when they had received them, he went into the house [of Baal,] with his friend Jehonadab, and gave orders to make search whether there were not any foreigner or stranger among them, for he would have no one of a different religion to mix among their sacred offices. And when they said that there was no stranger there, and they were beginning their sacrifices, he set fourscore men without, they being such of his soldiers as he knew to be most faithful to him, and bid them slay the prophets, and now vindicate the laws of their country, which had been a long time in disesteem. He also threatened, that if any one of them escaped, their own lives should go for them. So they slew them all with the sword, and burnt the house of Baal; and by that means purged Samaria of foreign customs, [idolatrous worship.] Now this Baal was the god of the Tyrians; and Ahab, in order to gratify his father-in-law, Ethbaal, who was the king of Tyre and Sidon, built a temple for him in Samaria, and appointed him prophets, and worshipped him with all sorts of worship, although, when this god was demolished, Jehu permitted the Israelites to worship the golden heifers. However, because he had done thus, and taken care to punish the wicked, God foretold by his prophet, that his sons should reign over Israel for four generations: And in this condition was Jehu at this time.

CHAP. VII.

How Athaliah reigned over Jerusalem for five [six] years, when Jehoiada the high priest slew her, and made Jehoash the son of Ahaziah king.

§ 1. Now when Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab heard of the death of her brother Joram, and of her son Ahaziah,

and of the royal family, she endeavoured that none of the house of David might be left alive, but that the whole family might be exterminated, that no king might arise out of it afterward; and, as she thought, she had actually done it; but one of Ahaziah's sons was preserved, who escaped death after the manner following: Ahaziah had a sister by the same father, whose name was *Jehosheba*, and she was married to the high-priest Jehoiada. She went into the king's palace, and found Jehoash, for that was the little child's name, who was not above a year old, among those that were slain, but concealed with his nurse; so she took him with her into a secret bed-chamber, and shut him up there, and she and her husband Jehoiada brought him up privately in the temple six years, during which time Athaliah reigned over Jerusalem and the two tribes.

2. Now on the seventh year, Jehoiada communicated the matter to certain of the captains of hundreds, five in number, and persuaded them to be assisting to what attempts he was making against Athaliah, and to join with him in asserting the kingdom to the child. He also received such oaths from them as are proper to secure those that assist one another from the fear of discovery; and he was then of good hope that they should depose Athaliah. Now those men whom Jehoiada the priest had taken to be his partners, went into all the country, and gathered together the priests and the Levites, and the heads of the tribes out of it, and came and brought them to Jerusalem to the high priest. So he demanded the security of an oath of them, to keep private whatsoever he should discover to them, which required both their silence and their assistance. So when they had taken the oath, and had thereby made it safe for him to speak, he produced the child that he had brought up of the family of David, and said to them, "This is your king, of that house which you "know God hath foretold should reign over you for all time to "come: I exhort you therefore that one-third part of you "guard him in the temple, and that a fourth part keep watch "at all the gates of the temple, and that the next part of you "keep guard at the gate which opens and leads to the king's "palace, and let the rest of the multitude be unarmed in the "temple, and let no armed person go into the temple, but the "priest only. He also gave them this order besides, that a "part of the priests and the Levites should be about the king "himself, and be a guard to him, with their drawn swords, "and to kill that man immediately, whoever he be, that should "be so bold as to enter armed into the temple; and bid them "be afraid of nobody, but persevere in guarding the king." So these men obeyed what the high priest advised them to, and declared the reality of their resolution by their actions. Jehoiada

also opened that armoury which David had made in the temple, and distributed to the captains of hundreds, as also to the priests and Levites, all the spears and quivers, and what kind of weapons soever it contained, and set them armed in a circle round about the temple; so as to touch one another's hands, and by that means excluding those from entering that ought not to enter. So they brought the child into the midst of them, and, put on him the royal crown, and Jehoiada anointed him with the oil, and made him king; and the multitude rejoiced; and made a noise, and cried, "God save the king."

3. When Athaliah unexpectedly heard the tumult and the acclamations; she was greatly disturbed in her mind, and suddenly issued out of the royal palace with her own army; and when she was come to the temple, the priests received her, but as for those that stood round about the temple, as they were ordered by the high priest to do, they hindered the armed men that followed her from going in. But when Athaliah saw the child standing upon a pillar, with the royal crown upon his head, she rent her clothes, and cried out vehemently, and commanded [her guards] to kill him that had laid snares for her, and endeavoured to deprive her of the government: But Jehoiada called for the captains of hundreds, and commanded them to bring Athaliah to the valley of Cedron, and slay her there, for he would not have the temple defiled with the punishment of this pernicious woman; and he gave order, that if any one came near to help her, he should be slain also; wherefore those that had the charge of her slaughter, took hold of her, and led her to the gate of the king's mules, and slew her there.

4. Now as soon as what concerned Athaliah was by this stratagem, after this manner despatched, Jehoiada called together the people and the armed men into the temple, and made them take an oath that they would be obedient to the king, and take care of his safety, and of the safety of his government; after which he obliged the king to give security [upon oath] that he would worship God, and not transgress the laws of Moses. They then ran to the house of Baal, which Athaliah and her husband Jehoram had built, to the dishonour of the God of their fathers, and to the honour of Ahab, and demolished it, and slew Matan, that had his priesthood. But Jehoiada entrusted the care and custody of the temple to the priests and Levites, according to the appointment of king David, and enjoined them to bring their regular burnt-offerings twice a-day, and to offer incense according to the law. He also ordained some of the Levites, with the porters, to be a guard to the temple, that no one that was defiled might come there.

5. And when Jehoiada had set these things in order, he, with

the captains of hundreds, and the rulers, and all the people, took Jehoash, out of the temple into the king's palace, and when he had set him into the king's throne, the people shouted for joy, and betook themselves to feasting, and kept a festival for many days; but the city was quiet upon the death of Athaliah. Now Jehoash was seven years old when he took the kingdom: His mother's name was Zibiah, of the city Beersheba. And all the time that Jehoiada lived, Jehoash was careful that the laws should be kept, and very zealous in the worship of God; and when he was of age, he married two wives, who were given to him by the high priest, by whom were born to him both sons and daughters. And thus much shall suffice to have related concerning king Jehoash, how he escaped the treachery of Athaliah, and how he received the kingdom.

CHAP. VIII.

Hazael makes an expedition against the people of Israel, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem. Jehu dies, and Jehoahaz succeeds in the government. Jehoash the king of Jerusalem, at first is careful about the worship of God, but afterwards becomes impious, and commands Zachariah to be stoned. When Jehoash [king of Judah] was dead, Amaziah succeeds him in the kingdom.

§ 1. Now Hazael, king of Syria, fought against the Israelites and their king Jehu, and spoiled the eastern parts of the country beyond Jordan, which belonged to the Reubenites and Gadites, and to [the half tribe of] Manassites; as also Gilead and Bashan, burning and spoiling, and offering violence to all that he laid his hands on; and this without impeachment from Jehu, who made no haste to defend the country when it was under this distress: nay, he was become a contemner of religion, and a despiser of holiness, and of the laws; and died when he had reigned over the Israelites twenty-seven years. He was buried in Samaria: and left Jehoahaz his son his successor in the government.

2. Now Jehoash, king of Jerusalem, had an inclination to repair the temple of God; so he called Jehoiada, and bid him send the Levites and priests through all the country, to require half a shekel of silver for every head, towards the rebuilding and repairing of the temple, which was brought to decay by Jehoram, and Athaliah, and her sons. But the high priest did not do this, as concluding that no one would willingly pay the money; but on the twenty-third year of Jehoash's reign, when the king sent for him and the Levites, and complained that they had not obeyed what he enjoined them, and still commanded them to take care

of the rebuilding the temple, he used this stratagem for collecting the money, with which the multitude was pleased. He made a wooden chest, and closed it up fast on all sides, but opened one hole in it; he then set it in the temple beside the altar, and desired every one to cast into it, through the hole, what he pleased, for the repair of the temple. This contrivance was acceptable to the people, and they strove one with another, and brought in jointly large quantities of silver and gold: and when the scribe and the priest that were over the treasuries had emptied the chest, and counted the money in the king's presence, they then set it in its former place, and thus did they every day. But when the multitude appeared to have cast in as much as was wanted, the high priest, Jehoiada, and king Joash, sent to hire masons and carpenters, and to buy large pieces of timber, and of the most curious sort, and when they had repaired the temple, they made use of the remaining gold and silver, which was not a little, for bowls, and basons, and cups, and other vessels, and they went on to make the altar every day fat with sacrifices of great value. And these things were taken suitable care of, as long as Jehoiada lived.

3. But as soon as he was dead, which was when he had lived one hundred and thirty years, having been a righteous, and in every respect, a very good man, and was buried in the king's sepulchres at Jerusalem, (because he had recovered the kingdom to the family of David), king Jehoash betrayed his [want of] care about God. The principal men of the people were corrupted also together with him, and offended against their duty, and what their constitution determined to be most for their good. Hereupon God was displeased with the change that was made on the king, and on the rest of the people; and sent prophets to testify to them what their actions were, and to bring them to leave off their wickedness: but they had gotten such a strong affection, and so violent an inclination to it, that neither could the examples of those that had offered affronts to the laws, and had been so severely punished, they and their entire families, nor could the fear of what the prophets now foretold, bring them to repentance, and turn them back from their course of transgression, to their former duty. But the king commanded that Zachariah, the son of the high priest Jehoiada, should be stoned to death in the temple, and forgot the kindnesses he had received from his father; for when God had appointed him to prophesy, he stood in the midst of the multitude, and gave this counsel to them and to the king, that they should act righteously, and foretold to them, that if they would not hearken to his admonitions, they should suffer an heavy punishment: But as Zachariah was ready to die, he appealed to God, as a witness of what he suffer-

ed, for the good counsel he had given them, and how he perished after a most severe and violent manner for the good deeds his father had done to Jehoash.

4. However, it was not long before the king suffered punishment for his transgression; for when Hazael, king of Syria, made an irruption into his country, and when he had overthrown Gath, and spoiled it, he made an expedition against Jerusalem: upon which Jehoash was afraid, and emptied all the treasures of God, and of the kings [before him], and took down the gifts that had been dedicated, [in the temple], and sent them to the king of Syria, and procured so much by them, that he was not besieged, nor his kingdom quite endangered, but Hazael was induced by the greatness of the sum of money not to bring his army against Jerusalem: yet Jehoash fell into a severe distemper, and was set upon by his friends, in order to revenge the death of Zachariah the son of Jehoiada. These laid snares for the king and slew him. He was indeed buried in Jerusalem, but not in the royal sepulchres of his forefathers, because of his impiety. He lived forty-seven years, and Amaziah his son succeeded him in the kingdom.

5. In the one and twentieth year of the reign of Jehoash, Jehoahaz, the son of Jehu, took the government of the Israelites in Samaria, and held it seventeen years. He did not [properly] imitate his father, but was guilty of as wicked practices as those that first had God in contempt: but the king of Syria brought him low, and by an expedition against him did so greatly reduce his forces, that there remained no more of so great an army than ten thousand armed men, and fifty horsemen. He also took away from him his great cities, and many of them also, and destroyed his army. And these were the things that the people of Israel suffered, according to the prophecy of Elisha, when he foretold that Hazael would kill his master, and reign over the Syrians and Damascenes. But when Jehoahaz was under such unavoidable miseries, he had recourse to prayer and supplication to God, and besought him to deliver him out of the hands of Hazael, and not overlook him; and give him up into his hands. Accordingly, God accepted of his repentance instead of virtue, and being desirous rather to admonish those that might repent, and not to determine that they should be utterly destroyed, he granted him deliverance from wars and dangers. So the country having obtained peace, returned again to its former condition, and flourished as before.

6. Now after the death of Jehoahaz, his son Joash took the kingdom, in the thirty-seventh year of Jehoash, the king of the tribe of Judah. This Joash then took the kingdom of Israel in Samaria, for he had the same name with the king of Jerusalem,

and he retained the kingdom sixteen years. He was a * good man and in his disposition was not at all like his father. Now at this time it was, that when Elisha the prophet, who was already very old, and was now fallen into a disease, the king of Israel came to visit him; and when he found him very near death he began to weep in his sight, and lament, "to call him his father, "and his weapons, because it was by his means that he never "made use of his weapons against his enemies, but that he overcame his own adversaries by his prophecies, without fighting; "and that he was now departing this life, and leaving him to the "Syrians, that were already armed, and to other enemies of his "that were under their power: so he said it was not safe for "him to live any longer, but that it would be well for him to "hasten to his end, and depart out of this life with him." As the king was thus bemoaning himself, Elisha comforted him, and bid the king bend a bow that was brought him; and when the king had fitted the bow for shooting, Elisha took hold of his hands and bid him shoot; and when he had shot three arrows, and then left off, Elisha said, "If thou hadst shot more arrows thou hadst "cut the kingdom of Syria up by the roots, but since thou hast "been satisfied with shooting three times only, thou shalt fight "and beat the Syrians no more times than three, that thou mayest recover that country which they cut off from thy kingdom in the reign of thy father." So when the king had heard that, he departed; and a little while after, the prophet died. He was a man celebrated for righteousness; and in eminent favour with God. He also performed wonderful and surprising works by prophesy, and such as were gloriously preserved in memory by the Hebrews. He also obtained a magnificent funeral, such an one indeed as it was fit a person so beloved of God should have. It also happened, that at that time certain robbers cast a man whom they had slain into Elisha's grave, and upon his dead body,

* This character of Joash, the son of Jehoahaz, that he was a good man, "and in his disposition not at all like to his father," seems a direct contradiction to our ordinary copies, which says, 2 Kings xiii. 11. that "he did evil in the sight of the Lord; and that he departed not from all the sins of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin, he walked therein." Which copies are here the truest, it is hard positively to determine. If Josephus's be true, this Joash is the single instance of a good king over the ten tribes: If the other be true, we have not one such example. The account that follows in all copies, of Elisha the prophet's concern for him, and his concern for Elisha, greatly favour Josephus's copies, and suppose this king to have been then a good man, and no idolater, with whom God's prophets used not to be so familiar. Upon the whole, since it appears even by Josephus's own account, that Amaziah the good king of Judah, while he was a good king, was forbidden to make use of the 100,000 auxiliaries, he had of this Joash the king of Israel, as if he and they were then idolaters, 2 Chron. xxv. 6—9. It is most likely that these different characters of Joash suited the different parts of his reign, and that according to our common copies, he was at first a wicked king, and afterwards was reclaimed, and became a good one, according to Josephus.

coming close to Elisha's body it revived again. And thus far have we enlarged about the actions of Elisha the prophet, both such as he did while he was alive, and how he had a divine power after his death also.

7. Now upon the death of Hazael, the king of Syria, that kingdom came to Adad his son, with whom Joash king of Israel made war, and when he had beaten him in three battles, he took from him all that country, and all those cities and villages which his father Hazael had taken from the kingdom of Israel, which came to pass however according to the prophecy of Elisha. But when Joash happened to die, he was buried in Samaria, and the government devolved on his son Jeroboam.

CHAP. IX.

How Amaziah made an expedition against the Edomites and Amalekites, and conquered them; but when he afterwards made war against Joash, he was beaten, and not long after was slain, and Uzziah succeeded in the government.

§ 1. Now in the second year of the reign of Joash over Israel, Amaziah reigned over the tribe of Judah at Jerusalem.—His mother's name was *Jehohaddan*, who was born at Jerusalem. He was exceeding careful in doing what was right, and this when he was very young: but when he came to the management of affairs, and to the government, he resolved that he ought first of all to avenge his father Jehoash, and to punish those his friends that had laid violent hands upon him; so he seized upon them all, and put them to death, yet did he execute no severity on their children, but acted therein according to the laws of Moses, who did not think it just to punish children for the sins of their fathers. After this he chose him an army out of the tribe of Judah and Benjamin of such as were in the flower of their age, and about twenty years old; and when he had collected about three hundred thousand of them together, he set captains of hundreds over them. He also sent to the king of Israel, and hired an hundred thousand of his soldiers for an hundred talents of silver, for he had resolved to make an expedition against the nations of the Amalekites, and Edomites, and Gebalites: But as he was preparing for his expedition, and ready to go out to the war, a prophet gave him counsel to dismiss the army of the Israelites, because they were bad men, and because God foretold that he should be beaten, if he made use of them as auxiliaries; but that he should overcome his enemies, though he had but a few soldiers, when it so pleased God. And when the king grudged at his having already paid the hire of the Israelites, the prophet exhorted him to do what God would have him, be-

cause he should thereby obtain much wealth from God. So he dismissed them, and said, that he still freely gave them their pay, and went himself with his own army, and made war with the nations before mentioned; and when he had beaten them in battle, he slew of them ten thousand, and took as many prisoners alive; whom he brought to the great rock which is in Arabia, and threw them down from it headlong. He also brought away a great deal of prey, and vast riches, from those nations. But while Amaziah was engaged in this expedition, those Israelites whom he had hired, and then dismissed, were very uneasy at it, and taking their dismission for an affront, as supposing that this would not have been done to them but out of contempt, they fell upon his kingdom, and proceeded to spoil the country as far as Beth-horon, and took much cattle, and slew three thousand men.

2. Now upon the victory which Amaziah had gotten, and the great acts he had done, he was puffed up, and began to overlook God, who had given him the victory, and proceeded to worship the gods he had brought out of the country of the Amalekites. So a prophet came to him and said, That "he wondered how "he could esteem these to be gods, who had been of no advan-"tage to their own people, who paid them honours; nor had de-"livered them from his hand, but had overlooked the destruc-"tion of many of them, and had suffered themselves to be car-"ried captive; for that they had been carried to Jerusalem, in "the same manner as any one might have taken some of the "enemy alive, and led them thither." This reproof provoked the king to anger, and he commanded the prophet to hold his peace, and threatened to punish him if he meddled with his conduct. So he replied, "That he should indeed hold his peace; "but foretold withal, that God would not overlook his attempts "for innovation." But Amaziah was not able to contain himself under that prosperity which God had given him, although he had affronted God thereupon; but in a vein of insolence he wrote to Joash, the king of Israel, and "commanded that he "and all his people should be obedient to him, as they had "formerly been obedient to his progenitors, David and Solo-"mon; and he let him know, that if he would not be so wise "as to do what he commanded him, he must fight for his do-"minion." To which message Joash returned this answer in writing: "King Joash to king Amaziah. There was a "vastly tall cyprus tree in mount Lebanon, as also a thistle: "this thistle sent to the cypress tree to give the cypress tree's "daughter in marriage to the thistle's son; but as the thistle "was saying this, there came a wild beast, and trode down the "thistle: And this may be a lesson to thee, not to be so am-"bitious, and to have a care, lest upon thy good success in the

"fight against the Amalekites, thou growest so proud, as to "bring dangers upon thyself and upon thy kingdom."

3. When Amaziah had read this letter, he was more eager upon this expedition, which, I suppose, was by the impulse of God, that he might be punished for his offence against him. But as soon as he led out his army against Joash, and they were going to join battle with him, there came such a fear and consternation upon the army of Amaziah, as God when he is displeased, sends upon men, and discomfitted them, even before they came to a close fight. Now it happened, that as they were scattered about by the terror that was upon them, Amaziah was left alone, and was taken prisoner by the enemy; whereupon Joash threatened to kill him, unless he would persuade the people of Jerusalem to open their gates to him, and receive him and his army into the city. Accordingly, Amaziah was so distressed, and in such fear of his life, that he made his enemy to be received into the city. So Joash overthrew a part of the wall, of the length of four hundred cubits, and drove his chariot through the breach into Jerusalem, and led Amaziah captive along with him: by which means he became master of Jerusalem, and took away the treasures of God, and carried off all the gold and silver that was in the king's palace, and then freed the king from captivity, and returned to Samaria. Now these things happened to the people of Jerusalem in the fourteenth year of the reign of Amaziah, who after this had a conspiracy made against him by his friends, and fled to the city Lachish, and was there slain by the conspirators, who sent men thither to kill him. So they took up his dead body, and carried it to Jerusalem, and made a royal funeral for him. This was the end of the life of Amaziah, because of his innovations in religion, and his contempt of God, when he had lived fifty-four years, and had reigned twenty-nine. He was succeeded by his son, whose name was *Uzziah.*

CHAP. X.

Concerning Jeroboam, king of Israel, and Jonah the prophet; and how, after the death of Jeroboam, his son Zechariah took the government. How Uzziah, king of Jerusalem, subdued the nations that were round about him; and what befel him when he attempted to offer incense to God.

§ 1. In the fifteenth year of the reign of Amaziah, Jeroboam the son of Joash, reigned over Israel, in Samaria, forty years. The king was guilty of * contumely against God, and

* What I have above noted concerning Jehoash, seems to me to have been true also concerning his son Jeroboam II. *viz.* that although he began wickedly,

became very wicked in worshipping of idols, and in many undertakings that were absurd and foreign. He was also the cause of ten thousand misfortunes to the people of Israel. Now one Jonah, a prophet, foretold to him, that he should make war with the Syrians, and conquer their army, and enlarge the bounds of his kingdom on the northern parts, to the city Hamath, and on the southern, to the lake Asphaltitis, for the bounds of the Canaanites originally were these as Joshua their general had determined them. So Jeroboam made an expedition against the Syrians and overran all their country, as Jonah had foretold.

2. Now I cannot but think it necessary for me, who have promised to give an accurate account of our affairs, to describe the actions of the prophet, so far as I have found them written down in the Hebrew books. Jonah had been commanded by God to go to the kingdom of Nineveh; and when he was there, to publish it in that city, how it should lose the dominion it had over the nations. But he went not, out of fear; nay, he ran away from God to the city of Joppa, and finding a ship there, he went into it, and sailed to * Tarsus in Cilicia, and upon the rise of a most terrible storm, which was so great that the ship was in danger of sinking, the mariners, the master, and the pilot himself, made prayers and vows, in case they escaped the sea; but Jonah lay still and covered [in the ship], without imitating any thing that the others did: but as the waves grew greater, and the sea became more violent by the winds, they suspected, as is usual in such cases, that some one of the persons that sailed with them, was the occasion of this storm, and agreed to discover by lot which of them it was. When they had † cast lots, the

as Josephus agrees with our other copies, and, as he adds "was the cause of a vast number of misfortunes to the Israelites," in those his first years, (the particulars of which are unhappily wanting both in Josephus and in all our copies), so does it seem to me that he was afterwards reclaimed, and became a good king, and so was encouraged by the prophet Jonah, and had great successes afterward, when "God had saved the Israelites by the hand of Jeroboam, the son of Joash," 2 Kings xiv. 27. which encouragement by Jonah, and great successes are equally observable in Josephus, and in the other copies.

* When Jonah is said in our Bibles to have gone to Tarshish, Jonah i. 3. Josephus understood it that he went to Tarshish in Cilicia, or to the Mediterranean Sea, upon which Tarsus lay: so that he does not appear to have read the text, 1 Kings xxii. 48. as our copies do, that ships of Tarshish could lie at Ezion-Geber, upon the Red Sea. But as to Josephus's assertion that Jonah's fish was carried by the strength of the current, upon a storm, as far as the Euxine Sea, it is no way impossible: and since the storm might have driven the ship, while Jonah was in it, near to that Euxine Sea, and since in three more days while he was in the fish's belly, that current might bring him to the Assyrian coast, and since withal that coast could bring him nearer to Nineveh than could any coast of the Mediterranean, it is by no means an improbable determination in Josephus.

† This ancient piece of religion, of supposing there was *great sin* where there was *great misery*, and of casting lots to discover great sinners, not only among

lot fell upon the prophet; and when they asked him, Whence he came? and what he had done? he replied, That he was an Hebrew by nation, and a prophet of Almighty God; and he persuaded them to cast him into the sea, if they would escape the danger they were in, for that he was the occasion of the storm which was upon them. Now at the first they durst not do so, as esteeming it a wicked thing to cast a man who was a stranger, and who had committed his life to them, into such manifest perdition; but at last, when their misfortune overbore them, and the ship was just going to be drowned, and when they were animated to do it by the prophet himself, and by the fear concerning their own safety, they cast him into the sea; upon which the sea became calm. It is also related that Jonah was swallowed down by a whale, and that when he had been there three days, and as many nights, he was vomited out upon the Euxine Sea, and this alive, and without any hurt upon his body; and there, on his prayer to God, he obtained pardon for his sins, and went to the city Nineveh, where he stood so as to be heard; and preached, That "in a very little time they should lose the "dominion of Asia." And when he had published this, he returned. Now, I have given the account about him, as I found it written [in our books].

3. When Jeroboam the king had passed his life in great happiness, and had ruled forty years, he died and was buried in Samaria, and his son Zechariah took the kingdom. After the same manner did Uzziah, the son of Amaziah, begin to reign over the two tribes in Jerusalem, in the fourteenth year of the reign of Jeroboam. He was born of Jecoliah, his mother, who was a citizen of Jerusalem. He was a good man, and by nature righteous and magnanimous, and very laborious in taking care of the affairs of his kingdom. He made an expedition also against the Philistines, and overcame them in battle, and took the cities of Gath and Jabneh, and brake down their walls: after which expedition, he assaulted those Arabs that adjoined to Egypt. He also built a city upon the Red Sea, and put a garrison into it. He after this overthrew the Ammonites, and appointed that they should pay tribute. He also overcame all the countries as far as to the bounds of Egypt, and then began to take care of Jerusalem itself for the rest of his life, for he rebuilt and repaired all those parts of the wall which had either fallen down

the Israelites, but among these heathen mariners, seems a remarkable remains of the ancient tradition which prevailed of old over all mankind, that providence used to interpose visibly in all human affairs, and never to bring, or at least not long to continue, notorious judgments but for notorious sins, which the most ancient book of Job shews to have been the state of mankind for about the former 3000 years of the world, till the days of Job and Moses.

by length of time, or by the carelessness of the kings, his predecessors, as well as all that part which had been thrown down by the king of Israel, when he took his father Amaziah prisoner, and entered with him into the city. Moreover, he built a great many towers, of one hundred and fifty cubits high, and built walled towns in desart places, and put garrisons into them, and dug many channels for conveyance of water. He had also many beasts for labour, and an immense number of cattle; for his country was fit for pasturage. He was also given to husbandry, and took care to cultivate the ground, and planted it with all sorts of plants, and sowed it with all sorts of seeds. He had also about him an army composed of chosen men, in number three hundred and seventy thousand, who were governed by general officers and captains of thousands, who were men of valour, and of unconquerable strength, in number two thousand. He also divided his whole army into bands, and armed them, giving every one a sword, with brazen bucklers and breast-plates, with bows and slings; and besides these, he made for them many engines of war, for besieging of cities, such as cast stones and darts, with grapplers, and other instruments of that sort.

4. While Uzziah was in this state, and making preparation [for futurity], he was corrupted in his mind by pride, and became insolent, and this on account of that abundance which he had of things that will soon perish, and despised that power which is of eternal duration (which consisted in piety towards God, and in the observation of his laws), so he fell by occasion of the good success of his affairs, and was carried headlong into those sins of his fathers which the splendour of that prosperity he enjoyed, and the glorious actions he had done, led him into, while he was not able to govern himself well about them. Accordingly, when a remarkable day was come, and a general festival was to be celebrated, he put on the holy garment, and went into the temple to offer incense to God upon the golden altar, which he was prohibited to do by Azariah the high priest, who had fourscore priests with him, and who told him that it was not lawful for him to offer sacrifice, and that "none besides the "posterity of Aaron were permitted so to do." And when they cried out, that he must go out of the temple, and not transgress against God, he was wroth at them, and threatened to kill them, unless they would hold their peace. In the mean time a great *

* This account of an earthquake at Jerusalem at the very same time when Uzziah usurped the priest's office, and went into the sanctuary to burn incense, and of the consequences of that earthquake, is entirely wanting in our other copies, though it be exceeding like to a prophecy of Jeremiah's now in Zech. xiv. 5. in which prophecy, mention is made of "fleeing from that earthquake, as they fled from this earthquake in the days of Uzziah king of Judah;" so that

earthquake shook the ground, and a rent was made in the temple, and the bright rays of the sun shone through it, and fell upon the king's face, insomuch that the leprosy seized upon him immediately. And before the city, at a place called *Eroge*, half the mountain broke off from the rest on the west, and rolled itself four furlongs, and stood still at the east mountain, till the roads, as well as the king's gardens, were spoiled by the obstruction. Now, as soon as the priest saw that the king's face was infected with the leprosy, they told him of the calamity he was under, and commanded that he should go out of the city as a polluted person. Hereupon he was so confounded at the sad distemper, and sensible that he was not at liberty to contradict, that he did as he was commanded, and underwent this miserable and terrible punishment for an intention beyond what befitted a man to have, and for that impiety against God which was implied therein. So he abode out of the city for some time, and lived a private life, while his son Jotham took the government; after which he died with grief and anxiety at what had happened to him, when he had lived sixty-eight years, and reigned of them fifty-two; and was buried by himself in his own gardens.

CHAP. XI.

How Zechariah, Shallum, Menahem, Pekahiah, and Pekah took the government over the Israelites; and how Pul and Tiglath-Pileser made an expedition against the Israelites. How Jotham, the son of Uzziah, reigned over the tribe of Judah; and what things Nahum prophesied against the Assyrians.

§ 1. Now when Zechariah, the son of Jeroboam, had reigned six months over Israel, he was slain by the treachery of a certain friend of his, whose name was *Shallum*, the son of Jabesh, who took the kingdom afterward, but kept it no longer than thirty days; for Menahem, the general of his army, who was at that time in the city Tirzah, and heard of what had befallen Zechariah, removed thereupon with all his forces to Samaria, and joining battle with Shallum, slew him; and when he had made himself king, he went thence, and came to the city Tiphsah, but the citizens that were in it, shut their gates, and barred them against the king, and would not admit him; but in order to be avenged on them, he burnt the country round about it and took the city by force, upon a siege; and being very much displeased at what the inhabitants of Tiphsah had done, he slew them all, and spared not so much as the infants, without

there seems to have been some considerable resemblance between these historical and prophetical earthquakes.

omitting the utmost instances of cruelty and barbarity; for he used such severity upon his own countrymen, as would not be pardonable with regard to strangers, who had been conquered by him. And after this manner it was that this Menahem continued to reign with cruelty and barbarity for ten years: But when Pul, king of Assyria, had made an expedition against him, he did not meet to fight or engage in battle with the Assyrians, but he persuaded him to accept of a thousand talents of silver, and to go away, and so put an end to the war. This sum the multitude collected for Menahem, by * exacting fifty drachmæ as poll-money for every head; after which he died, and was buried in Samaria, and left his son Pekahiah his successor in the kingdom, who followed the barbarity of his father, and so ruled but two years only, after which he was slain with his friends at a feast, by the treachery of one *Pekah*, the general of his horse, and the son of Remaliah, who laid snares for him. Now this Pekah held the government twenty years, and proved a wicked man, and a transgressor. But the king of Assyria, whose name was *Tiglath-Pileser*, when he had made an expedition against the Israelites, and had over-run all the land of Gilead, and the region beyond Jordan, and the adjoining country, which is called *Galilee*, and Kadesh and Hazor, he made the inhabitants prisoners, and transplanted them into his own kingdom. And so much shall suffice to have related here concerning the king of Assyria.

2. Now Jotham the son of Uzziah, reigned over the tribe of Judah in Jerusalem, being a citizen thereof by his mother, whose name was Jerusha. The king was not defective in any virtue, but was religious towards God, and righteous towards men, and careful of the good of the city, (for what part soever wanted to be repaired or adorned, he magnificently repaired and adorned them). He also took care of the foundations of the cloisters in the temple, and repaired the walls that were fallen down, and built very great towers, and such as were almost impregnable; and if any thing else in his kingdom had been neglected, he took great care of it. He also made an expedition against the Ammonites, and overcame them in battle, and ordered them to pay

* Dr. Wall in his critical notes on 2 Kings xv. 20. observes, "That when "this Menahem is said to have exacted the money of Israel of all the mighty "men of wealth, of each man 50 shekels of silver, to give Pul, the king of Assy-"ria 1000 talents, this is the first public money raised by any [Israelite] king by "tax on the people; that they used before to raise it out of the treasures of "the house of the Lord, or of their own house; that it was a poll money on the "rich men [and them only] to raise L.353,000, or as others count a talent "400,000l. at the rate of 6l. or 7l. *per* head; and that God commanded, by Eze-"kiel, chap. xlv. 8. and xlvi. 18. that no such thing should be done [at the Jews' "restoration], but the king should have land of his own."

tribute an hundred talents and ten thousand cori of wheat, and as many of barley, every year, and so augmented his kingdom, that his enemies could not despise it, and his own people lived happily.

3. Now there was at that time a prophet, whose name was Nahum, who spake after this manner concerning the overthrow of the Assyrians, and Nineveh: "* Nineveh shall be a pool of "water in motion; so shall all her people be troubled, and tossed, and go away by flight, while they say one to another, Stand, "stand still, seize their gold and silver, for there shall be no one "to wish them well, for they will rather save their lives than "their money; for a terrible contention shall possess them one "with another, and lamentation; and loosing of the members, "and their countenances shall be perfectly black with fear.— "And there will be the den of the lions, and the mother of the "young lions! God says to thee, Nineveh, that they shall deface thee, and the lion shall no longer go out from thee to give "laws to the world." And indeed this prophet prophesied many other things besides these concerning Nineveh, which I do not think necessary to repeat, and I here omit them that I may not appear troublesome to my readers; all which things happened about Nineveh an hundred and fifteen years afterwards; so this may suffice to have spoken of these matters.

CHAP. XII.

How upon the death of Jotham, Ahaz reigned in his stead; against whom Rezin, king of Syria, and Pekah, king of Israel made war; and how Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, came to the assistance of Ahaz, and laid Syria waste, and removing the Damascenes into Media placed other nations in their room.

§. 1. Now Jotham died when he had lived forty-one years, and of them reigned sixteen, and was buried in the sepulchres of the kings; and the kingdom came to his son Ahaz, who proved most impious towards God, and a transgressor of the laws of his country. He imitated the kings of Israel, and reared altars in Jerusalem, and offered sacrifices upon them to idols; to which also he offered his own son as a burnt-offering, according to the practices of the Canaanites. His other actions were

* This passage is taken out of the prophet Nahum, chap. ii. 8—13. and is the principal, or rather the only one that is given us almost *verbatim*, but a little abridged, in all Josephus's known writings: By which quotation, we learn that he himself always asserts, *viz.* that he made use of the Hebrew original, [and not of the Greek version]; as also we learn, that his Hebrew copy considerably differed from ours. See all three texts particularly set down and compared together in the Essay on the Old Test. page 187.

also of the same sort. Now as he was going on in this mad course, Rezin, the king of Syria and Damascus, and Pekah the king of Israel, who were now at amity one with another, made war with him; and when they had driven him into Jerusalem, they besieged that city a long while, making but a small progress, on account of the strength of its walls; and when the king of Syria had taken the city Elath, upon the Red Sea, and had slain the inhabitants, he peopled it with Syrians, and when he had slain those in the [other] garrisons, and the Jews in their neighbourhood, and had driven away much prey, he returned with his army back to Damascus. Now when the king of Jerusalem knew that the Syrians were returned home, he, supposing himself a match for the king of Israel, drew out his army against him, and joining battle with him was beaten; and this happened because God was angry with him, on account of his many and great enormities. Accordingly, there was slain by the Israelites one hundred and twenty thousand of his men that day, whose general, Amaziah by name, slew Zechariah the king's son in his conflict with Ahaz, as well as the governor of the kingdom, whose name was Azricam. He also carried Elcanah, the general of the troops of the tribe of Judah, into captivity. They also carried the women and children of the tribe of Benjamin captives; and when they had gotten a great deal of prey, they returned to Samaria.

2. Now there was one Obed, who was a prophet at that time in Samaria, he met the army before the city walls, and with a loud voice told them, "that they had gotten the victory not by "their own strength, but by reason of the anger God had against "king Ahaz. And he complained, that they were not satisfied "with the good success they had against him, but were so "bold as to make captives out of their kinsmen the tribe of Ju-"dah and Benjamin. He also gave them counsel to let them go "home without doing them any harm, for that if they did not "obey God herein, they should be punished." So the people of Israel came together to their assembly, and considered of these matters, when a man whose name was Berechiah, and who was one of chief reputation in the government, stood up, and three others with him, and said, "We will not suffer the citizens to "bring these prisoners into the city, lest we all be destroyed by "God: we have sins enough of our own that we have commit-"ted against him, as the prophets assure us; nor ought we "therefore to introduce the practice of new crimes." When the soldiers heard that, they permitted them to do what they thought best. So the forenamed man took the captives and let them go, and took care of them, and gave them provisions, and sent them to their own country, without doing them any harm.

However, these four went along with them, and conducted them as far as Jericho, which is not far from Jerusalem, and returned to Samaria.

3. Hereupon king Ahaz having been so thoroughly beaten by the Israelites, sent to Tiglath-Pileser, king of the Assyrians, and sued for assistance from him in his war against the Israelites, and Syrians, and Damascenes, with a promise to send him much money; he sent him also great presents at the same time. Now this king, upon the reception of those ambassadors, came to assist Ahaz, and made war upon the Syrians, and laid their country waste, and took Damascus by force, and slew Rezin their king, and transplanted the people of Damascus into the upper Media, and brought a colony of Assyrians, and planted them in Damascus. He also afflicted the land of Israel, and took many captives out of it. While he was doing thus with the Syrians, king Ahaz took all the gold that was in the king's treasures, and the silver, and what was in the temple of God, and what precious gifts were there, and he carried them with him, and came to Damascus, and gave it to the king of Assyria, according to his agreement. So he confessed that he owed him thanks for all he had done for him, and returned to Jerusalem. Now this king was so sottish, and thoughtless of what was for his own good, that he would not leave off worshipping the Syrian gods when he was beaten by them, but he went on in worshipping them, as though they would procure him the victory: and when he was beaten again he began to honour the gods of the Assyrians; and he seemed more desirous to honour any other gods than his own paternal and true God, whose anger was the cause of his defeat; nay, he proceeded to such a degree of despite and contempt [of God's worship], that he shut up the temple entirely, and forbade them to bring in their appointed sacrifices, and took away the gifts that had been given to it. And when he had offered these indignities to God, he died, having lived thirty-six years, and of them reigned sixteen; and he left his son Hezekiah for his successor.

CHAP. XIII.

How Pekah died by the treachery of Hoshea, who was a little after subdued by Shalmaneser: And how Hezekiah reigned instead of Ahaz; and what actions of piety and justice he did.

§ 1. About the same time, Pekah, the king of Israel, died, by the treachery of a friend of his, whose name was Hoshea, who retained the kingdom nine years time, but was a wicked

man, and a despiser of the divine worship. And Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria, made an expedition against him, and overcame him, (which must have been because he had not God favourable or assistant to him), and brought him to submission, and ordered him to pay an appointed tribute. Now in the fourth year of the reign of Hoshea, Hezekiah, the son of Ahaz, began to reign in Jerusalem; and his mother's name was Abijah, a citizen of Jerusalem. His nature was good, and righteous, and religious; for when he came to the kingdom, he thought that nothing was prior, or more necessary, or more advantageous to himself, and to his subjects, than to worship God. Accordingly, he called the people together, and the priests and the Levites, and made a speech to them, and said, "You are not ignorant, how by the sins of my father, who "transgressed that sacred honour which was due to God, you "have had experience of many and great miseries, while you "were corrupted in your mind by him, and were induced to "worship those which he supposed to be gods: I exhort you "therefore, who have learned by sad experience how dangerous "a thing impiety is, to put that immediately out of your "memory, and to purify yourselves from your former pollutions, "and to open the temple to these priests and Levites "who are here convened, and to cleanse it with the accustomed "sacrifices, and to recover all to the ancient honour which "our fathers paid to it; for by this means we may render God "favourable, and he will remit the anger he hath had to us."

2. When the king had said this the priests opened the temple; and when they had set in order the vessels of God, and cast out what was impure, they laid the accustomed sacrifices upon the altar. The king also sent to the country that was under him, and called the people to Jerusalem to celebrate the feast of unleavened bread, for it had been intermitted a long time, on account of the wickedness of the forementioned kings. He also sent to the Israelites, and exhorted them to leave off their present way of living, and return to their ancient practices, and to worship God, for that he gave them leave to come to Jerusalem, and to celebrate, all in one body, the feast of unleavened bread; and this, he said, was by way of invitation only, and to be done of their own good-will, and for their own advantage, and not out of obedience to him, because it would make them happy.— But the Israelites, upon the coming of the ambassadors, and upon their laying before them what they had in charge from their own king, were so far from complying therewith, that they laughed the ambassadors to scorn, and mocked them as fools: as also they affronted the prophets which gave them the same exhortations, and foretold what they would suffer if they did not return to the worship of God, insomuch that at length they

caught them, and slew them: nor did this degree of transgressing suffice them, but they had more wicked contrivances than what have been described: Nor did they leave off, before God, as a punishment for their impiety, brought them under their enemies; but of that more hereafter. However, many there were of the tribe of Manasseh, and of Zebulon, and of Issachar, who were obedient to what the prophets exhorted them to do, and returned to the worship of God. Now all these came running to Jerusalem, to Hezekiah, that they might worship God [there].

3. When these men were come, king Hezekiah went up into the temple, with the rulers and all the people, and offered for himself seven bulls, and as many rams, with seven lambs, and as many kids of the goats. The king also himself, and the rulers, laid their hands on the heads of the sacrifices, and permitted the priests to complete the sacred offices about them. So they both slew the sacrifices, and burnt the burnt-offerings, while the Levites stood round about them, with their musical instruments, and sang hymns to God, and played on their psalteries, as they were instructed by David to do, and this while the rest of the priests returned the music, and sounded the trumpets which they had in their hands: and when this was done, the king and the multitude threw themselves down upon their face and worshipped God. He also sacrificed seventy bulls, one hundred rams, and two hundred lambs. He also granted the multitude sacrifices to feast upon, six hundred oxen, and three thousand other cattle; and the priests performed all things according to the law. Now the king was so pleased herewith, that he feasted with the people, and returned thanks to God: But as the feast of unleavened bread was now come, when they had offered that sacrifice which is called the *Passover*, they after that offered other sacrifices for seven days: When the king had bestowed on the multitude, besides what they sanctified of themselves, two thousand bulls, and seven thousand other cattle, the same thing was done by the rulers; for they gave them a thousand bulls, and a thousand and forty other cattle. Nor had this festival been so well observed from the days of king Solomon, as it was now first observed with great splendour and magnificence: and when the festival was ended, they went out into the country, and purged it; and cleansed the city of all the pollution of the idols. The king also gave order that the daily sacrifice should be offered, at his own charges, and according to the law; and appointed that the tythes, and the first fruits should be given by the multitude to the priests and Levites, that they might constantly attend upon divine service, and never be taken off from the worship of God. Accordingly, the multitude brought together all

sorts of their fruits to the priests and the Levites. The king also made garners and receptacles for these fruits, and distributed them to every one of their priests and Levites, and to their children and wives. And thus did they return to their old form of divine worship. Now when the king had settled these matters after the manner already described, he made war upon the Philistines, and beat them, and possessed himself of all the enemies' cities from Gaza to Gath; but the king of Assyria sent to him, and threatened to overturn all his dominions, unless he would pay him the tribute which his father paid him formerly; but king Hezekiah was not concerned at his threatenings, but depended on his piety towards God, and upon Isaiah the prophet, by whom he inquired, and accurately knew all future events. And thus much shall suffice for the present concerning this king Hezekiah.

CHAP. XIV.

How Shalmaneser took Samaria by force, and how he transplanted the ten tribes into Media, and brought the nation of the Cutheans into their country [in their room].

§ 1. WHEN Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria, had it told him, that [Hoshea], the king of Israel had sent privately to So, the king of Egypt, desiring his assistance against him, he was very angry, and made an expedition against Samaria, in the seventh year of the reign of Hoshea; but when he was not admitted [into the city] by the king, * he besieged Samaria three years, and took it by force in the ninth year of the reign of Hoshea, and in the seventh year of Hezekiah king of Jerusalem, and quite demolished the government of the Israelites, and transplanted all the people into Media, and Persia, among whom he took king Hoshea alive; and when he had removed these people out of this their land, he transplanted other nations out of Cuthath, a place so called, (for there is [still] a river of that name in Persia), into Samaria, and into the country of the Israelites. So the ten tribes of the Israelites were removed out of Judea, nine hundred and forty-seven years after their forefathers were come out of the land of Egypt, and pos-

* The siege of Samaria, though not given a particular account of, either in our Hebrew or Greek Bibles, or in Josephus, was so very long, no less than three years, that it was no way improbable but that parents, and particularly mothers, might therein be reduced to eat their own children, as the law of Moses had threatened upon their disobedience, Levit. xxvi. 29. Deut. xxviii. 53—57. and as was accomplished in the other shorter sieges of both the capital cities, Jerusalem and Samaria; the former mentioned, Jer. xix. 9. Antiq. B. IX. ch. 4. § 4. and the latter, 2 Kings vi. 26—29.

sessed themselves of this country, but eight hundred years after Joshua had been their leader, and, as I have already observed, two hundred and forty years, seven months, and seven days, after they had revolted from Rehoboam, the grandson of David, and had given the kingdom to Jeroboam. And such a conclusion overtook the Israelites, when they had transgressed the laws, and would not hearken to the prophets, who foretold that this calamity would come upon them, if they would not leave off their evil doings. What gave birth to these evil doings, was that sedition which they raised against Rehoboam the grandson of David, when they set up Jeroboam his servant to be their king, who, by sinning against God, and bringing them to imitate his bad example, made God to be their enemy, while Jeroboam underwent that punishment which he justly deserved.

2. And now the king of Assyria invaded all Syria and Phenicia in an hostile manner. The name of this king is also set down in the archives of Tyre, for he made an expedition against Tyre, in the reign of Eluleus; and Menander attests to it, who, when he wrote his Chronology, and translated the archives of Tyre into the Greek language, gives us the following history: "One "whose name was Eluleus, reigned thirty-six years: this king "upon the revolt of the Citteans, sailed to them, and reduced them again to a submission. Against these did the king "of Assyria send an army, and in an hostile manner over-run "all Phenicia, but soon made peace with them all, and returned back: but Sidon and Ace, and Palætyrus, revolted; and "many other cities there were which delivered themselves up "to the king of Assyria. Accordingly, when the Tyrians would "not submit to him, the king returned, and fell upon them "again, while the Phenicians had furnished him with threescore "ships, and eight hundred men to row them; and when the Tyrians had come upon them in twelve ships, and the enemies' "ships were dispersed, they took five hundred men prisoners, "and the reputation of all the citizens of Tyre was thereby increased: but the king of Assyria returned, and placed guards "at their river and aqueducts, who should hinder the Tyrians "from drawing water. This continued for five years, and still "the Tyrians bore the siege, and drank of the water they had "out of the wells they dug." And this is what is written in the Tyrian archives concerning Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria.

3. But now the Cutheans who removed into Samaria (for that is the name they have been called by to this time, because they were brought out of the country called *Cuthath*, which is a country of Persia, and there is a river of the same name in it), each of them, according to their nations, which were in number five,

brought their own gods into Samaria; and by worshipping them, as was the custom of their own countries, they provoked Almighty God to be angry and displeased at them, for a plague seized upon them, by which they were destroyed; and when they found no cure for their miseries, they learned by the oracle that they ought to worship Almighty God, as the method for their deliverance. So they sent ambassadors to the king of Assyria, and desired him to send them some of those priests of the Israelites whom he had taken captive. And when he thereupon sent them, and the people were by them taught the laws, and the holy worship of God, they worshipped him in a respectful manner, and the plague ceased immediately; and indeed they continue to make use of the very same customs to this very time, and are called in the Hebrew tongue *Cutheans*, but in the Greek tongue *Samaritans*. And when they see the Jews in prosperity, they pretend that they are changed, and allied to them, and call them kinsmen, as though they were derived from Joseph, and had by that means an original alliance with them: but when they see them falling into a low condition, they say they are no way related to them, and that the Jews have no right to expect any kindness or marks of kindred from them, but they declare that they are sojourners, that come from other countries. But of these we shall have a more seasonable opportunity to discourse hereafter.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.

BOOK X.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-TWO YEARS AND A HALF.

[FROM THE CAPTIVITY OF THE TEN TRIBES TO THE FIRST OF CYRUS.]

CHAP. I.

How Sennacherib made an expedition against Hezekiah; what threatenings Rabshakeh made to Hezekiah when Sennacherib was gone against the Egyptians; how Isaiah the prophet encouraged him; how Sennacherib, having failed of success in Egypt, returned thence to Jerusalem; and how, upon his finding his army destroyed, he returned home; and what befel him a little afterward.

§ 1. It was now the fourteenth year of the government of Hezekiah, king of the two tribes, when the king of Assyria, whose name was Sennacherib, made an expedition against him with a great army, and took all the cities of the tribe of Judah and Benjamin by force; and when he was ready to bring his army against Jerusalem, Hezekiah sent ambassadors to him before-hand, and promised to submit, and pay what tribute he should appoint. Hereupon Sennacherib, when he heard of what offers the ambassadors made, resolved not to proceed in the war, but to accept of the proposals that were made him; and if he might receive three hundred talents of silver, and thirty talents of gold, he promised that he would depart in a friendly manner; and he gave security upon oath to the ambassadors that he would then do him no harm, but go away as he came. So Hezekiah submitted, and emptied his treasures, and sent the money, as supposing he should be freed from his enemy, and from any farther distress about his kingdom. Accordingly, the Assyrian king took it; and yet had no regard to what he had promised; but while he himself went to the war against the Egyptians and Ethiopians, he left his general Rabshakeh, and two other commanders, with great forces, to destroy Jerusalem. The names of the two other commanders were Tartan and Rabsaris.

2. Now as soon as they were come before the walls, they pitched their camp, and sent messengers to Hezekiah, and desired that

they might speak with him: but he did not himself come out to them for fear, but he sent three of his most intimate friends, the name of one was Eliakim, who was over the kingdom, and Shebna, and Joah the recorder. So these men came out, and stood over against the commanders of the Assyrian army; and when Rabshakeh saw them, he bid them go and speak to Hezekiah in the manner following: That "Sennacherib the * great king, desires to know of him, on whom it is that he relies and depends in flying from his lord, and will not hear him, nor admit his army into the city? Is it on account of the Egyptians, and in hopes that his army would be beaten by them? Whereupon he lets him know, that if this be what he expects, he is a foolish man, and like one who leans on a broken reed, while such an one will not only fall down, but will have his hand pierced and hurt by it. That he ought to know, he makes this expedition against him by the will of God, who hath granted this favour to him, that he shall overthrow the kingdom of Israel, and that in the very same manner he shall destroy those that are his subjects also." When Rabshakeh had made this speech in the Hebrew tongue, for he was skilful in that language, Eliakim was afraid lest the multitude that heard him should be disturbed, so he desired him to speak in the Syrian tongue; but the general understanding what he meant, and perceiving the fear that he was in, he made his answer with a greater, and a louder voice, but in the Hebrew tongue; and said, that "since they all heard what were the king's commands, they would consult their own advantage in delivering up themselves to us, for it is plain that both you and your king dissuade the people from submitting by vain hopes, and so induce them to resist: but if you be courageous, and think to drive our forces away, I am ready to deliver to you two thousand of these horses that are with me for your use, if you can set as many horsemen on their backs, and shew your strength, but what you have not, you cannot produce. Why therefore do you delay to deliver up yourselves to a superior force, who can take you without your consent? although it will be safer for you to deliver yourselves up voluntarily, while a forcible capture, when you are beaten, must appear more dangerous, and will bring farther calamities upon you."

3. When the people, as well as the ambassadors, heard what the Assyrian commander said, they related it to Hezekiah, who thereupon put off his royal apparel, and clothed himself with sackcloth and took the habit of a mourner; and, after the manner of

* This title of *Great King*, both in our Bibles, 2 Kings xviii. 19. Isa. xxxvi. 4. and here in Josephus, is the very same that Herodotus gives this Sennacherib as Spanheim takes notice on this place.

his country, he fell upon his face, and besought God, and entreated him to assist them, now they had no other hope of relief. He also sent some of his friends, and some of the priests, to the prophet Isaiah, and desired, that he would pray to God, and offer sacrifices for their common deliverance, and so put up supplications to him, that he would have indignation at the expectations of their enemies, and have mercy upon his people. And when the prophet had done accordingly, an oracle came from God to him, and encouraged the king and friends that were about him; and foretold, that "their enemies should be beaten without fighting, and should go away in an ignominious manner, "and not with that insolence which they now shew, for that "God would take care that they should be destroyed." He also foretold, that "Sennacherib the king of Assyria, should fail of "his purpose against Egypt, and that when he came home he "should perish by the sword."

4. About the same time also, the king of Assyria wrote an epistle to Hezekiah, in which he said, "he was a foolish man in "supposing that he should escape from being his servant, since "he had already brought under many and great nations; and he "threatened, that when he took him, he would utterly destroy "him, unless he now opened the gates, and willingly received his "army into Jerusalem." When he read this epistle, he despised it on account of the trust that he had in God, but he rolled up the epistle, and laid it up within the temple. And as he made his farther prayers to God for the city, and for the preservation of all the people, the prophet Isaiah said, that "God had heard "his prayer, and that he should not be * besieged at this time by "the king of Assyria; that for the future he might be secure "of not being at all disturbed by him; and the people might "go on peaceably, and without fear, with their husbandry and "other affairs." But after a little while, the king of Assyria, when he had failed of his treacherous designs against the Egyptians, returned home without success, on the following occasion: He spent a long time in the siege of Pelusium; and when the banks

* What Josephus says here, how Isaiah the prophet assured Hezekiah, that "at "this time he should not be besieged by the king of Assyria, that for the future he "might be secure of being not at all disturbed by him; and that [afterward] the "people might go on peaceably, and without fear, with their husbandry and other "affairs," is more distinct in our other copies, both of the Kings and of Isaiah, and deserves very great consideration. The words are these: "This shall be a sign unto "thee; ye shall eat this year such as groweth of itself; and the second year that which "springeth of the same; and in the third year sow ye, and reap, and plant vine- "yards, and eat the fruit thereof," 2 Kings xix. 20. Isa. xxxvii. 30. which seem to me plainly to design *a sabbatic year, a year of Jubilee*, next after it, and the succeeding usual labours and fruits of them on the third and following years.

that he had raised over against the walls were of a great height, and when he was ready to make an immediate assault upon them, but heard that Tirhaka, king of the Ethiopians, was coming and bringing great forces to aid the Egyptians, and was resolved to march through the desart, and so to fall directly upon the Assyrians, this king Sennacherib was disturbed at the news, and, as I said before, left Pelusium, and returned back without success. Now concerning this Sennacherib, Herodotus also says, in the second book of his histories, "How this king came against the "Egyptian king, who was the priest of Vulcan, and that as he "was besieging Pelusium, he broke up the siege on the follow-"ing occasion; this Egyptian priest prayed to God, and God "heard his prayer, and sent a judgment upon the Arabian king." But in this Herodotus was mistaken when he called this king not king of the Assyrians, but of the Arabians; for he saith, that "a multitude of mice gnawed to pieces in one night both "the bows and the rest of the armour of the Assyrians, and that "it was on that account that the king, when he had no bows "left, drew off his army from Pelusium." And Herodotus does indeed give us this history: nay, and Berosus, who wrote of the affairs of Chaldea, makes mention of this king Sennacherib, and that he ruled over the Assyrians, and that he made an expedition against all Asia and Egypt; and * says thus:

3. "Now when Sennacherib was returning from his Egyp-"tian war to Jerusalem, he found his army under Rabshakeh "his general, in danger [by a plague], for God had sent a pes-"tilential distemper upon his army; and on the very first night "of the siege, an hundred fourscore and five thousand, with their "captains and generals, were destroyed: So the king was in a "great dread, and in a terrible agony at this calamity; and being "in great fear for his whole army, he fled with the rest of his "forces to his own kingdom, and to his city Nineveh: And "when he had abode there a little while, he was treacherously "assaulted, and died by the hands of his elder sons † Adram-"melech and Seraser, and was slain in his own temple, which was "called *Araske*. Now these sons of his were driven away on "account of the murder of their father by the citizens, and "went into Armenia, while Assarachoddas took the kingdom of

* That this terrible calamity of the slaughter of the 185,000 Assyrians is here delivered in the words of Berosus the Chaldean; and that it was certainly and frequently foretold by the Jewish prophets, and that it was certainly and undeniably accomplished, see Authent. Rec. part II. page 858.

† We are here to take notice, that these two sons of Sennacherib, that ran away into Armenia, became the heads of two famous families there, the Arzerunii and Genunii; of which see the particular histories in Moses Chorenensis, p. 60.

"of Sennacherib." And this proved to be the conclusion of this Assyrian expedition against the people of Jerusalem.

CHAP. II.

How Hezekiah was sick and ready to die; and how God bestowed upon him fifteen years longer life, [and secured that promise] by the going back of the shadow ten degrees.

§ 1. Now king Hezekiah being thus delivered, after a surprising manner, from the dread he was in, offered thank-offerings to God, with all his people, because nothing else had destroyed some of their enemies, and made the rest so fearful of undergoing the same fate, that they departed from Jerusalem, by that divine assistance: Yet, while he was very zealous and diligent about the worship of God, did he soon afterward fall into a severe * distemper, insomuch that the physicians despaired of him, and expected no good issue of his sickness, as neither did his friends; and besides the distemper itself, there was a very melancholy circumstance that disordered the king, which was the consideration that he was childless, and was going to die, and leave his house and his government without a successor of his own body; so he was troubled at the thoughts of this his condition, and lamented himself, and entreated of God that he would prolong his life for a little while till he had some children, and not suffer him to depart this life before he was become a father. Hereupon God had mercy upon him, and accepted of his supplication, because the trouble he was under at his supposed death was not because he was soon to leave the advantages he enjoyed in the kingdom, nor did he on that account pray that he might have a longer life afforded him, but in order to have sons, that might receive the government after him. And God sent Isaiah the prophet, and commanded him to inform Hezekiah, "that within three days' "time he should get clear of his distemper, and should sur-"vive it fifteen years, and that he should have children also." Now upon the prophet's saying this, as God had commanded him; he could hardly believe it, both on account of the distemper

* Josephus, and all our copies place the *sickness* of Hezekiah after the *destruction* of Sennacherib's *army*, because it appears to have been after his first assault, as he was going into Arabia and Egypt, where he pushed his conquests as far as they would go; and in order to despatch his story altogether; yet does no copy but this of Josephus say it was *after* that destruction, but only that it happened *in those days*, or about the time of Hezekiah's life. Nor will the fifteen years prolongation of his life after his sickness, allow that sickness to have been latter than the former part of the 15th year of his reign, since chronology does not allow him in all above 29 years and a few months, whereas the first assault of Sennacherib was on the 14th year of Hezekiah, but the destruction of Sennacherib's army was not till the 18th year.

he was under, which was very sore, and by reason of the surprising nature of what was told him, so he desired that Isaiah would give him some sign of wonder, that he might believe him in what he had said, and be sensible that he came from God: for things that are beyond expectation, and greater than our hopes, are made credible by the actions of like nature. And when Isaiah had asked him, What sign he desired to be exhibited? he desired that he would make the shadow of the sun, which he had already made to go down ten steps [or degrees] in his house, to * return again to the same place, and to make it as it was before. And when the prophet prayed to God to exhibit this sign to the king, he saw what he desired to see, and was freed from his distemper, and went up to the temple, where he worshipped God and made vows to him.

2. At this time it was that the dominion of the Assyrians † was overthrown by the Medes, but of these things I shall treat elsewhere. But the king of Babylon, whose name was *Baladon*, sent ambassadors to Hezekiah, with presents, and desired he would be his ally and his friend. So he received the ambassadors gladly, and made them a feast, and shewed them his treasures, and his armoury, and the other wealth he was possessed of, in precious stones, and in gold, and gave them presents to be carried to Baladon, and sent them back to him. Upon which the prophet Isaiah came to him, and inquired of him, "Whence those am-" bassadors came?" To which he replied, That "they came " from Babylon, from the king; and that he had shewed them

* As to this regress of the shadow, either upon a sun-dial, or the steps of the royal palace built by Ahaz, whether it were physically done by the real miraculous revolution of the earth in its diurnal motion backward from east to west, for a while, and its return again to its old natural revolution from west to east, or whether it were not apparent only; and performed by an ærial phosphorus, which imitated the sun's motion backward, while a cloud hid the real sun, cannot now be determined. Philosophers and astronomers will naturally incline to the latter hypothesis. However, it must be noted, that Josephus seems to have understood it otherwise than we generally do; that the shadow was accelerated as much at first forward as it was made to go backward afterward, and so the day was neither longer nor shorter than usual, which it must be confessed, agrees best of all to astronomy, whose eclipses older than that time were observed at the times of the day as if this miracle had never happened. After all, this wonderful signal was not, it seems, peculiar to Judea, but either seen, or at last heard of, at Babylon also, as appears by 2 Chron. xxxii. 31. where we learn, that the Babylonian ambassadors were sent to Hezekiah, among other things, *to inquire of the wonder that was done in the land.*

† This expression of Josephus's that this Medes, upon the destruction of this Assyrian army, *overthrew* the Assyrian empire, seems to be too strong, for although they immediately cast off the Assyrian yoke, and set up Deioces a king of their own, yet it was sometime before the Medes and Babylonians overthrew Nineveh, and some generations ere the Medes and Persians under Cyaxares and Cyrus overthrew the Assyrian or Babylonian empire.

" all he had, that by the sight of his riches and forces they might " thereby guess at [the plenty he was in], and be able to in- " form the king of it." But the prophet rejoined, and said, " Know thou, that, after a little while, these riches of thine " shall be carried away to Babylon, and thy posterity shall be " made eunuchs there, and lose their manhood, and be servants " to the king of Babylon, for that God foretold such things " would come to pass." Upon which words Hezekiah was troubled, and said, That " he was himself unwilling that his " nation should fall into such calamities, yet since it is not pos- " sible to alter what God had determined, he prayed that there " might be peace while he lived." Berosus also makes mention of this Baladon king of Babylon. Now as to this prophet, [Isaiah], he was by the confession of all a divine and wonderful man in speaking truth; and out of the assurance that he had never written what was false, he wrote down all his prophecies, and left them behind him in books, that their accomplishment might be judged of from the events, by posterity: nor did this prophet do so alone, but the others, which were twelve in number, did the same. And whatsoever is done among us, whether it be good, or whether it be bad, comes to pass according to their prophecies; but of every one of those we shall speak hereafter.

CHAP. III.

How Manasseh reigned after Hezekiah; and how, when he was in captivity, he returned to God, and was restored to his kingdom, and left it to [his son] Amon.

§ 1. When king Hezekiah had survived the interval of time already mentioned, and had dwelt all that time in peace, he died, having completed fifty-four years of his life, and reigned twenty-nine: but when his son Manasseh, whose mother's name was Hephzibah, of Jerusalem, had taken the kingdom, he departed from the conduct of his father, and fell into a course of life quite contrary thereto, and shewed himself in his manners most wicked in all respects, and omitted no sort of impiety, but imitated those transgressions of the Israelites, by the commission of which against God, they had been destroyed; for he was so hardy as to defile the temple of God and the city, and the whole country; for, by setting out from a contempt of God, he barbarously slew all the righteous men who were among the Hebrews, nor would he spare the prophets, for he every day slew some of them, till Jerusalem was overthrown with blood. So God was angry at these proceedings, and sent prophets to

the king, and to the multitude, by whom he threatened the very same calamities to them, which their brethren the Israelites, upon the like affronts offered to God, were now under.—But these men would not believe their words, by which belief they might have reaped the advantage of escaping all those miseries, yet did they in earnest learn that what the prophets had told them was true.

2. And when they persevered in the same course of life, God raised up war against them, from the king of Babylon and Chaldea, who sent an army against Judea, and laid waste the country; and caught king Manasseh by treachery, and ordered him to be brought to him, and had him under his power to inflict what punishment he pleased upon him. But then it was that Manasseh perceived what a miserable condition he was in, and esteeming himself the cause of all, he besought God to render his enemy humane and merciful to him. Accordingly, God heard his prayer, and granted him what he prayed for. So Manasseh was released by the king of Babylon, and escaped the danger he was in: And when he was come to Jerusalem, he endeavoured, if it were possible, to cast out of his memory those his former sins against God, of which he now repented, and to apply himself to a very religious life. He sanctified the temple, and purged the city, and for the remainder of his days he was intent on nothing but to return his thanks to God for his deliverance, and to preserve him propitious to him all his life long. He also instructed the multitude to do the same, as having very nearly experienced what a calamity he was fallen into by a contrary conduct. He also rebuilt the altar, and offered the legal sacrifices, as Moses commanded. And when he had re-established what concerned the divine worship, as it ought to be, he took care of the security of Jerusalem: he did not only repair the old walls with great diligence, but added another wall to the former. He also built very lofty towers, and the garrisoned places before the city he strengthened, not only in other respects, but with provisions of all sorts that they wanted. And indeed, when he had changed his former course, he so led his life for the time to come, that from the time of his return to piety towards God, he was deemed an happy man, and a pattern for imitation: when therefore he had lived sixty-seven years, he departed this life, having reigned fifty-five years, and was buried in his own garden; and the kingdom came to his son Amon, whose mother's name was *Meshumeleth*, of the city of Jobath.

CHAP. IV.

How Amon reigned instead of Manasseh; and after Amon, reigned Josiah; he was both righteous aud religious. As also concerning Huldah the prophetess.

§ 1. This Amon imitated those works of his father which he insolently did when he was young: so he had a conspiracy made against him by his own servants, and was slain in his own house, when he had lived twenty-four years, and of them had reigned two: But the multitude punished those that slew Amon, and buried him with his father, and gave the kingdom to his son Josiah, who was eight years old. His mother was of the city of Boscath; and her name was *Jedidah*. He was of a most excellent disposition, and naturally virtuous, and followed the actions of king David, as a pattern and rule to him in the whole conduct of his life. And when he was twelve years old, he gave demonstrations of his religious and righteous behaviour; for he brought the people to a sober way of living, and exhorted them to leave off the opinion they had of their idols, because they were not gods, but to worship their own God. And by reflecting on the actions of his progenitors, he prudently corrected what they did wrong, like a very elderly man, and like one abundantly able to understand what was fit to be done, and when he found they had well done, he observed all the country over, and imitated the same. And thus he acted in following the wisdom and sagacity of his own nature, and in following the laws it was that he succeeded so well in the order of his government, and in piety with regard to the divine worship. And this happened because the transgressions of the former kings were seen no more, but quite vanished away; for the king went about the city, and the whole country, and cut down the groves which were devoted to strange gods, and overthrew their altars; and if there were any gifts dedicated to them by his forefathers, he made them ignominious and plucked them down, and by this means he brought the people back from their opinion about them to the worship of God. He also offered his accustomed sacrifices and burnt-offerings upon the altar. Moreover, he ordained certain judges and overseers, that they might order the matters to them severally belonging, and have regard to justice above all things, and distribute it with the same concern they would have about their own soul. He also sent over all the country, and desired such as pleased to bring gold and silver for the repairs of the temple, according to every one's inclinations and abilities. And when the money was brought in,

he made one Maaseiah the governor of the city, and Shaphan the scribe, and Joash the recorder, and Eliakim the high-priest, curators of the temple, and of the charges contributed thereto: who made no delay, nor put off the work at all, but prepared architects, and whatsoever was proper for those repairs, and set closely about the work. So the temple was repaired by this means, and became a public demonstration of the king's piety.

2. But when he was now in the eighteenth year of his reign, he sent to Eliakim the high priest, and gave order, that out of what money was overplus, he should cast cups and dishes, and vials, for ministration [in the temple]; and besides, that they should bring all the gold and silver which was among the treasures, and expend that also in making cups and the like vessels: But as the high-priest was bringing out the gold, he light upon the holy books of Moses that were laid up in the temple, and when he had brought them out, he gave them to Shaphan the scribe, who, when he had read them, came to the king, and informed him that all was finished which he had ordered to be done. He also read over the books to him, who, when he had heard them read, rent his garment: and called for Eliakim the high priest, and for [Shaphan] the scribe, and for certain [other] of his most particular friends, and sent them to Huldah the prophetess, the wife of Shallum (which Shallum was a man of dignity and of an eminent family), and bid them go to her and say, That [he desired] "she would appease God, and endeavour to "render him propitious to them, for that there was cause to "fear, lest, upon the transgression of the laws of Moses by their "forefathers, they should be in peril of going into captivity, "and of being cast out of their own country; lest they should "be in want of all things, and so end their days miserably." When the prophetess had heard this from the messengers that were sent to her by the king, she bid them go back to the king, and say, that "God had already given sentence against them, "to destroy the people, and cast them out of their country, and "deprive them of all the happiness they enjoyed; which sentence none could set aside by any prayers of theirs, since it was "passed on account of the transgressions of the laws, and of "their not having repented in so long a time, while the prophets had exhorted them to amend, and had foretold the punishment that would ensue on their impious practices; which "threatening God would certainly execute upon them that "they might be persuaded that he is God, and had not deceived "them in any respect as to what he had denounced by his prophets: that yet because Josiah was a righteous man, he "would at present delay those calamities, but that after his

"death, he would send on the multitude what miseries he had "determined for them."

3. So these messengers upon this prophecy of the woman, came and told it to the king; whereupon he sent to the people every where, and ordered that the priests and the Levites should come together to Jerusalem; and commanded that those of every age should be present also: And when they had gathered together, he first read to them the holy books; after which he stood upon a pulpit, in the midst of the multitude, and obliged them to make a covenant, with an oath, that they would worship God, and keep the laws of Moses. Accordingly, they gave their assent willingly, and undertook to do what the king had recommended to them. So they immediately offered sacrifices, and that after an acceptable manner, and besought God to be gracious and merciful to them. He also enjoined the high priest, that if there remained in the temple any vessel that was dedicated to idols, or to foreign gods, they should cast it out: So when a great number of such vessels were got together, he burnt them, and scattered their ashes abroad, and slew the priests of the idols, that were not of the family of Aaron.

4. And when he had done thus in Jerusalem, he came into the country, and utterly destroyed what buildings had been made therein by king Jeroboam, in honour of strange gods; and he burnt the bones of the false prophets upon that altar which Jeroboam first built. And as the prophet [Jadon], who came to Jeroboam when he was offering sacrifice, and when all the people heard him, foretold that would come to pass, viz. That "a certain man of the house of David, Josiah by name, should "do what is here mentioned." And it happened that those predictions took effect after three hundred and sixty-one years.

5. After these things, Josiah went also to such other Israelites as had escaped captivity and slavery under the Assyrians, and persuaded them to desist from their impious practices, and to leave off the honours they paid to strange gods, but to worship rightly their own Almighty God, and adhere to him. He also searched the houses and the villages, and the cities, out of a suspicion that somebody might have one idol or other in private; nay, indeed, he took away the * chariots [of the sun] that were

* It is hard to reconcile the account in the second book of Kings, ch. xxiii. 11. with this account of Josephus, and to translate this passage truly in Josephus, whose copies are supposed to be here imperfect: However, the general sense of both seems to be this, that their were certain chariots with their horses, dedicated to the idol of the sun, or to Moloch: which idol must be carried about in procession, and worshipped by the people; which chariots were now *taken away*, as Josephus says, or as the book of the Kings says, *burnt with fire by Josiah.*

set up in his royal palace, which his predecessors had framed; and what thing soever there was besides, which they worshipped as a god. And when he had thus purged all the country, he called the people to Jerusalem, and there celebrated the feast of unleavened bread, and that called the *Passover*. He also gave the people for Paschal sacrifices, young kids of the goats and lambs, thirty thousand, and three hundred oxen for burnt offerings. The principal of the priests also gave to the priests against the passover, two thousand and six hundred lambs; the principal of the Levites also gave to the Levites five thousand lambs and five hundred oxen, by which means there was great plenty of sacrifices; and they offered those sacrifices according to the laws of Moses, while every priest explained the matter, and ministered to the multitude. And indeed there had been no other festival thus celebrated by the Hebrews from the times of Samuel the prophet; and the plenty of sacrifices now was the occasion that all things were performed according to the laws, and according to the custom of their forefathers. So when Josiah had after this lived in peace; nay, in riches and reputation also among all men, he ended his life in the manner following.

CHAP. V.

How Josiah fought with Neco [king of Egypt], and was wounded and died in a little afterward: As also how Neco carried Jehoahaz, who had been made king, into Egypt, and delivered the kingdom to Jehoiakim: And [lastly] concerning Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

§ 1. Now Neco, king of Egypt, raised an army, and marched to the river Euphrates, in order to fight with the Medes and Babylonians, who had * overthrown the dominion of the Assyrians, for he had a desire to reign over Asia. Now when he was come to the city Mendes, which belonged to the kingdom of Josiah, he brought an army to hinder him from passing through his own country, in his expedition against the Medes. Now Neco sent an herald to Josiah, and told him, That "he did not make this expedition against him, but was "making haste to Euphrates; and desired that he would not "provoke him to fight against him, because he obstructed his "march to the place whither he had resolved to go." But Jo-

* This is a remarkable passage of chronology in Josephus, that about the latter end of the reign of Josiah, the Medes and Babylonians overthrew the empire of the Assyrians; or in the words of Tobit's continuator, that "before Tobias died, he "heard of the destruction of Nineveh, which was taken by Nebuchodonosor the "Babylonian, and Assuerus the Mede, Tob. xiv. 15."—See Dean Prideaux Connection at the year 612.

siah did not admit of this advice of Neco's, but put himself into a posture to hinder him from this intended march. I suppose it was fate that pushed him on to this conduct, that it might take an occasion against him; for as he was setting his * army in array, and rode about in his chariot, from one wing of his army to another, one of the Egyptians shot an arrow at him, and put an end to his eagerness of fighting: for being sorely wounded, he commanded a retreat to be sounded for his army, and returned to Jerusalem, and died of that wound; and was magnificently buried in the sepulchre of his fathers, when he had lived thirty-nine years, and of them had reigned thirty-one. But all the people mourned greatly for him, lamenting and grieving on his account many days: and Jeremiah the prophet composed † an elegy to lament him, which is extant till this time also. Moreover, this prophet denounced before-hand the sad calamities that were coming upon the city. He also left behind him in writing a description of that destruction of our nation which has lately happened in our days, and the taking of Babylon; nor was he the only prophet who delivered such predictions before-hand to the multitude, but so did Ezekiel also, who was the first person that wrote, and left behind him in writing two books concerning these events. Now these two prophets were priests by birth; but of them Jeremiah dwelt in Jerusalem, from the thirteenth year of the reign of Josiah, until the city and temple were utterly destroyed. However as to what befel this prophet, we will relate it in its proper place.

2. Upon the death of Josiah, which we have already mentioned, his son, Jehoahaz by name, took the kingdom: being about twenty-three years old: He reigned in Jerusalem; and his mother was Hamutal, of the city Libnah. He was an impious man, and impure in his course of life; but as the king of Egypt returned from the battle, he sent for Jehoahaz to come to him, to the city called ‡ Hamath, which belongs to Syria; and when he was come, he put him in bonds, and delivered the kingdom to a brother of his, by the father's side whose name was *Eliakim*, and

* This battle is justly esteemed the very same that Herodotus, B. II. § 156. mentions, when he says, that "Neco joined battle with the Syrians [or Jews] at "Magdolum (Megiddo,) and beat them," as Dr. Hudson here observes.

† Whether Josephus, from 2 Chron. xxxv. 25. here means the book of the Lamentations of Jeremiah, still extant, which chiefly belongs to ths destruction of Jerusalem under Nebuchadnezzar, or to any other like melancholy poem now lost, but extant in the days of Josephus, belonging peculiarly to Josiah, cannot now be determined.

‡ This ancient city Hamath, which is joined with Arpad, or Aradus, and with Damascus, 2 Kings xviii. Isa. xxxvi. 19. Jer. xlix. 23. cities of Syria and Phenicia near the borders of Judea, was also itself evidently near the same borders though long ago utterly destroyed.

changed his name to *Jehoiakim,* and laid a tribute upon the land of an hundred talents of silver, and a talent of gold, and the sum of money Jehoiakim paid by way of tribute: but Neco carried away Jehoahaz into Egypt, where he died when he had reigned three months and ten days. Now Jehoiakim's mother was called *Zebudah,* of the city Rumah. He was of a wicked disposition, and ready to do mischief: nor was he either religious towards God, or good-natured towards men.

CHAP. VI.

How Nebuchadnezzar, when he had conquered the king of Egypt, made an expedition against the Jews, and slew Jehoiakim, and made Jehoiachin his son king.

§ 1. Now in the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim, one whose name was Nebuchadnezzar, took the government over the Babylonians, who at the same time went up with a great army to the city Carchemish, which was at Euphrates, upon a resolution he had taken to fight with Neco king of Egypt, under whom all Syria then was. And when Neco understood the intention of the king of Babylon, and that this expedition was made against him, he did not despise his attempt, but made haste with a great band of men to Euphrates to defend himself from Nebuchadnezzar; and when they had joined battle, he was beaten, and lost many ten thousands [of his soldiers] in the battle. So the king of Babylon passed over Euphrates, and took all Syria, as far as Pelusium, excepting Judea. But when Nebuchadnezzar had already reigned four years, which was the eight of Jehoiakim's government over the Hebrews, the king of Babylon made an expedition with mighty forces against the Jews, and required tribute of Jehoiakim, and threatened on his refusal to make war against him. He was affrighted at his threatening, and bought his peace with money, and brought the tribute he was ordered to bring for three years.

2. But on the third year, upon hearing that the king of the Babylonians made an expedition against the Egyptians, he did not pay his tribute, yet was he disappointed of his hope, for the Egyptians durst not fight at this time. And indeed the prophet Jeremiah foretold every day, how vainly they relied on their hopes from Egypt, and how the city would be overthrown by the king of Babylon, and Jehoiakim the king would be subdued by him. But what he thus spake proved to be of no advantage to them, because there were none that should escape; for both the multitude, and the rulers, when they heard him, had no concern about what they heard; but being displeased at what was said,

as if the prophet were a diviner against the king, they accused Jeremiah, and bringing him before the court they required that a sentence and a punishment might be given against him. Now all the rest gave their votes for his condemnation, but the elders refused, who prudently sent away the prophet from the court of [the prison] and persuaded the rest to do Jeremiah no harm; for they said, that "he was not the only person who foretold "what would come to the city, but that Micah signified the same "before him, as well as many others, none of which suffered "any thing of the kings that then reigned, but were honoured as "the prophets of God." So they mollified the multitude with these words, and delivered Jeremiah from the punishment to which he was condemned. Now when this prophet had written all his prophecies, and the people were fasting, and assembled at the temple, on the ninth month of the fifth year of Jehoiakim, he read the book he had composed of his predictions, of what was to befal the city, and the temple, and the multitude. And when the rulers heard of it, they took the book from him, and bid him and Baruch the scribe to go their ways, lest they should be discovered by one or other; but they carried the book, and gave it to the king, so he gave order, in the presence of his friends, that his scribe should take it, and read it. When the king heard what it contained, he was angry, and tore it, and cast it into the fire, where it was consumed. He also commanded, that they should seek for Jeremiah and Baruch the scribe, and bring them to him, that they might be punished. However they escaped his anger.

3. Now a little time afterward, the king of Babylon made an expedition against Jehoiakim, whom he received [into the city,] and this out of fear of the foregoing predictions of this prophet, as supposing that he should suffer nothing that was terrible, because he neither shut the gates, nor fought against him; yet when he was come into the city, he did not observe the covenants he had made, but he slew such as were in the flower of their age, and such as were of the greatest dignity, together with their king Jehoiakim, whom he commanded to be thrown before the walls, without any burial; and made his son Jehoiachin king of the country, and of the city: he also took the principal persons in dignity for captives, three thousand in number, and led them away to Babylon; among which was the prophet Ezekiel, who was then but young. And this was the end of king Jehoiakim, when he had lived thirty-six years, and of them reigned eleven: but Jehoiachin succeeded him in the kingdom, whose mother's name was Nehushta: she was a citizen of Jerusalem. He reigned three months and ten days.

CHAP. VII.

That the king of Babylon repented of making Jehoiachin king, and took him away to Babylon, and delivered the kingdom to Zedekiah. This king would not believe what was predicted by Jeremiah and Ezekiel, but joined himself to the Egyptians; who, when they came into Judea, were vanquished by the king of Babylon: as also what befel Jeremiah.

§ 1. But a terror seized on the king of Babylon, who had given the kingdom to Jehoiachin, and that immediately: he was afraid that he should bear him a grudge, because of his killing his father, and thereupon should make the country revolt from him; wherefore he sent an army, and besieged Jehoiachin in Jerusalem; but because he was of a gentle and just disposition, he did not desire to see the city endangered on his account, but he took his mother, and kindred, and delivered them to the commanders sent by the king of Babylon, and accepted of their oaths, that neither should they suffer any harm, nor the city; which agreement they did not observe for a single year, for the king of Babylon did not keep it, but gave orders to his generals to take all that were in the city captives, both the youth and the handicraftsmen; and bring them bound to him; their number was ten thousand eight hundred and thirty-two; as also Jehoiachin, and his mother and friends: And when these were brought to him, he kept them in custody, and appointed Jehoiachin's uncle Zedekiah to be king; and made him take an oath, that he would certainly keep the kingdom for him, and make no innovation, nor have any league of friendship with the Egyptians.

2. Now Zedekiah was twenty and one years old when he took the government: and had the same mother with his brother Jehoiakim, but was a despiser of justice and of his duty, for truly those of the same age with him were wicked about him, and the whole multitude did what unjust and insolent things they pleased; for which reason the prophet Jeremiah came often to him, and protested to him, and insisted, That "he must leave off his impieties and transgressions, and take care of what was right, "and neither give ear to the rulers, (among whom were wicked "men), nor give credit to their false prophets, who deluded "them, as if the king of Babylon would make no more war against "them, and as if the Egyptians would make war against him, "and conquer him, since what they said was not true, and the "events would not prove such [as they expected]." Now as to Zedekiah himself, while he heard the prophet speak he believed him, and agreed to every thing as true, and supposed it was for his

advantage; but then his friends perverted him, and dissuaded him from what the prophet advised, and obliged him to do what they pleased. Ezekiel also foretold in Babylon what calamities were coming upon the people, which when he heard, he sent accounts of them into Jerusalem: But Zedekiah did not believe their prophecies, for the reasons following: It happened that the two prophets agreed with one another in what they said, as in all other things, that the city should be taken, and Zedekiah himself should be taken captive; but Ezekiel disagreed with him, and said that "Zedekiah should not see Babylon," while Jeremiah said, to him, That "the king of Babylon should carry him away thither "in bonds." And because they did not both say the same thing as to this circumstance, he disbelieved what they both appeared to agree in, and condemned them as not speaking truth therein, although all the things foretold him did come to pass according to their prophecies, as we shall shew upon a fitter opportunity.

3. Now when Zedekiah preserved the league of mutual assistance he had made with the Babylonians, for eight years, he brake it, and revolted to the Egyptians, in hopes, by their assistance, of overcoming the Babylonians. When the king of Babylon knew this, he made war against him; he laid his country waste, and took his fortified towns, and came to the city Jerusalem itself to besiege it: But when the king of Egypt heard what circumstances Zedekiah his ally was in, he took a great army with him, and came into Judea, as if he would raise the siege: upon which the king of Babylon departed from Jerusalem, and met the Egyptians, and joined battle with them, and beat them, and when he had put them to flight, he pursued them, and drove them out of all Syria. Now as soon as the king of Babylon was departed from Jerusalem, the false prophets deceived Zedekiah, and said, That "the king of Babylon would "not any more make war against him or his people nor remove "them out of their own country into Babylon, and that those "then in captivity would return, with all those vessels of the "temple, of which the king of Babylon had despoiled that tem- "ple." But Jeremiah came among them, and prophesied what contradicted those predictions, and what proved to be true, That "they did ill, and deluded the king; that the Egyptians would "be of no advantage to them, but that the king of Babylon "would renew the war against Jerusalem, and besiege it again, "and would destroy the people by famine, and carry away those "that remained into captivity, and would take away what they "had as spoils, and would carry off those riches that were in "the temple; nay that, besides this, he would burn it, and ut- "terly overthrow the city, and that they should serve him and "his posterity seventy years; that then the Persians and the

"Medes should put an end to their servitude, and overthrow "the Babylonians, and that we shall be dismissed, and return "to this land, and * rebuild the temple and restore Jerusalem." When Jeremiah said this, the greater part believed him, but the rulers, and those that were wicked, despised him, as one disordered in his senses. Now he had resolved to go elsewhere, to his own country, which was called *Anathoth*, and was twenty furlongs distant from Jerusalem; and as he was going, one of the rulers met him, and seized upon him, and accused him falsely, as though he were going as a deserter to the Babylonians: but Jeremiah, said, that he accused him falsely, and added, that he was only going to his own country, but the other would not believe him, but seized upon him, and led him away to the rulers, and laid an accusation against him, under whom he endured all sorts of torments and tortures, and was reserved to be punished; and this was the condition he was in for some time, while he suffered what I have already described unjustly.

4. Now in the ninth year of the reign of Zedekiah, on the tenth day of the tenth month, the king of Babylon made a second expedition against Jerusalem, and lay before it eighteen months, and besieged it with the utmost application. There came upon them also two of the greatest calamities at the same time that Jerusalem was besieged, a famine and pestilential distemper, and made great havock of them: And though the prophet Jeremiah was in prison, he did not rest, but cried out, and proclaimed aloud, and exhorted the multitude to open their gates, and admit the king of Babylon, for that if they did so, they should be preserved, and their whole families, but if they did not so, they should be destroyed, and he foretold, that if any one stayed in the city, he should certainly perish by one of these ways, either be consumed by the famine, or slain by the enemy's sword, but that if he would fly to the enemy he should escape death: Yet did not these rulers who heard believe him, even when they were in the midst of their sore calamities, but they came to the king, and in their anger, informed him what Jeremiah said, and accused him, and complained of the prophet as of a madman, and one that disheartened their minds, and by the denunciation of miseries, weakened the alacrity of the multitude, who were otherwise ready to expose themselves to dangers for him, and for their country, while he, in a way of threatening, warned them to fly to the enemy, and told them that the city should certainly be taken, and be utterly destroyed.

* Josephus says here, that Jeremiah prophesied not only of the return of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity, and this under the Persians and Medes, as in our other copies; but of their rebuilding the temple, and even the city Jerusalem, which do not appear in our copies under his name, see the note on Antiq. B. XI. chap. I. sect. 3.

5. But for the king himself, he was not at all irritated against Jeremiah, such was his gentle and righteous disposition; yet that he might not be engaged in a quarrel with those rulers at such a time, by opposing what they intended, he let them do with the prophet, whatsoever they would: Whereupon, when the king had granted them such a permission, they presently came into the prison and took him; and let him down with a cord into a pit full of mire, that he might be suffocated, and die of himself. So he stood up to the neck in the mire, which was all about him, and so continued: but there was of the king's servants, who was in esteem with him, an Ethiopian by descent, who told the king what a state the prophet was in, and said, that his friends and his rulers had done evil in putting the prophet into the mire, and by that means contriving against him that he should suffer a death more bitter than that by his bonds only. When the king heard this, he repented of his having delivered up the prophet to the rulers, and bid the Ethiopian take thirty men of the king's guards, and cords with them, and whatsoever else they understood to be necessary for the prophet's preservation, and draw him up immediately. So the Ethiopian took the men he was ordered to take, and drew up the prophet out of the mire, and left him at liberty [in the prison].

5. But when the king had sent to call him privately, and inquired what he could say to him from God, which might be suitable to his present circumstances, and desired him to inform him of it, Jeremiah replied, that "he had somewhat to say:" but he said withal; he "should not be believed, nor if he admonished "them, should be hearkened to; for, said he, thy friends have "determined to destroy me, as though I had been guilty of "some wickedness: and where are now those men who deceiv-"ed us, and said that, the king of Babylon would not come and "fight against us any more; but I am afraid now to speak the "truth, lest thou shouldst condemn me to die." And when the king had assured him upon oath, that he would neither himelf put him to death, nor deliver him up to the rulers, he became bold upon that assurance that was given him; and gave him this advice, that "he should deliver the city up to the Babylonians; and "he said, that it was God that prophesied this by him, that (he "must do so) if he would be preserved and escape out of the dan-"ger he was in, and that then neither should the city fall to the "ground, nor should the temple be burned; but that (if he diso-"beyed), he would be the cause of these miseries coming upon the "citizens, and of the calamity that would befal his whole house." When the king heard this, he said, that "he would willingly do "what he persuaded him to, and what he declared would be to "his advantage, but that he was afraid of those of his own coun-

"try that had fallen away to the Babylonians, lest he should be "accused by them to the king of Babylon, and be punished." But the prophet encouraged him, and said, "He had no cause to "fear such punishment, for that he should not have the expe-"rience of any misfortune, if he would deliver all up to the "Babylonians, neither himself, nor his children, nor his wives, "and that the temple should then continue unhurt." So when Jeremiah had said this, the king let him go, and charged him, "To betray what they had resolved on to none of the citizens, "nor to tell any of these matters to any of the rulers, if they "should have learned that he had been sent for, and should in-"quire of him what it was that he was sent for, and what he had "said to him? but to pretend to them, that he besought him that "he might not be kept in bonds and in prison." And indeed he said so to them; for they came to the prophet, and asked him, what advice it was that he came to give the king relating to them? and thus I have finished what concerns this matter.

CHAP. VIII.

How the king of Babylon took Jerusalem and burnt the temple, and removed the people of Jerusalem, and Zedekiah to Babylon. As also, who they were that had succeeded in the high priesthood under the kings.

§ 1. Now the king of Babylon, was very intent and earnest upon the siege of Jerusalem: and he erected towers upon great banks of earth, and from them repelled those that stood upon the walls: he also made a great number of such banks round about the whole city, whose height was equal to those walls. However, those that were within, bore the siege with courage and alacrity, for they were not discouraged, either by the famine, or by the pestilential distemper, but were of cheerful minds in the prosecution of the war, although those miseries within oppressed them also, and they did not suffer themselves to be terrified, either by the contrivances of the enemy, or by their engines of war, but contrived still different engines to oppose all the other withal, till indeed there seemed to be an entire struggle between the Babylonians, and the people of Jerusalem, which had the greater sagacity and skill; the former party supposing they should be thereby too hard for the other, for the destruction of the city; the latter placing their hopes of deliverance in nothing else but in persevering in such inventions in opposition to the other, as might demonstrate the enemies' engines were useless to them. And this siege they endured for eighteen months, until they were destroyed by the famine,

and by the darts which the enemy threw at them from the towers.

2. Now the city was taken in the ninth day of the fourth month, in the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah. They were indeed only generals of the king of Babylon, to whom Nebuchadnezzar committed the care of the siege, for he abode himself in the city of Riblah. The names of these generals who ravaged and subdued Jerusalem, if any one desire to know them, were these, Nergal Sharezer, Samgar Nebo, Rabsaris, Sarsechim, and Rabmag. And when the city was taken about midnight, and the enemies' generals were entered into the temple, and when Zedekiah was sensible of it, he took his wives and his children, and his captains and his friends, and with them fled out of the city, through the fortified ditch, and through the desart: and when certain of the deserters had informed the Babylonians of this, at break of day, they made haste to pursue after Zedekiah, and overtook him not far from Jericho, and encompassed him about; but for those friends and captains of Zedekiah who had fled out of the city with him, when they saw their enemies near them, they left him and dispersed themselves, some one way and some another, and every one resolved to save himself; so the enemy took Zedekiah alive, when he was deserted by all but a few, with his children and his wives, and brought him to the king. When he was come, Nebuchadnezzar began to "call him a wicked wretch, "and a covenant breaker, and one that had forgotten his former "words, when he promised to keep the country for him. He "also reproached him for his ingratitude, that when he had received the kingdom from him, who had taken it from Jehoiachin, and given it him, he had made use of the power he gave "him against him that gave it, but, said he, God is great, who "hated that conduct of thine, and hath brought thee under us." And when he had used these words to Zedekiah, he commanded his sons and his friends to be slain, while Zedekiah and the rest of the captains looked on, after which he put out the eyes of Zedekiah: and bound him, and carried him to Babylon. And these things happened to him*, as Jeremiah and Ezekiel had foretold to him, that he should be caught, and brought before the king of Babylon, and should speak to him face to face; and should see his eyes with his own eyes; and thus far did Jeremiah pro-

* This observation of Josephus's about the seeming disagreement of Jeremiah, chap. xxii. 4. and xxxiv. 3. and Ezek. xii. 13. but real agreement at last, concerning the fate of Zedekiah, is very true, and very remarkable. See chap. vii. sect. 2. Nor is it at all unlikely that the courtiers and false prophets might make use of this seeming contradiction to dissuade Zedekiah from believing either of those prophets, as Josephus here intimates he was dissuaded thereby.

phecy; but he was also made blind, and brought to Babylon, but did not see it, according to the prediction of Ezekiel.

3. We have said thus much, because it was sufficient to shew the nature of God to such as are ignorant of it, that it is various, and acts many different ways, and that all events happen after a regular manner, in their proper season, and that foretels what must come to pass. It is also sufficient to shew the ignorance and incredulity of men, whereby they are not permitted to foresee any thing that is future, and are, without any guard, exposed to calamities, so that it is impossible for them to avoid the experience of those calamities.

4. And after this manner have the kings of David's race ended their lives, being in number twenty-one, until the last king, who altogether reigned five hundred and fourteen years, and six months, and ten days; of whom Saul, who was their first king, retained the government twenty years, though he was not of the same tribe with the rest.

5. And now it was that the king of Babylon sent Nebuzaradan, the general of his army, to Jerusalem, to pillage the temple, who had it also in command to burn it and the royal palace, and to lay the city even with the ground, and to transplant the people into Babylon. Accordingly, he came to Jerusalem in the eleventh year of king Zedekiah, and pillaged the temple, and carried out the vessels of God, both gold and silver, and particularly that large laver which Solomon dedicated, as also the pillars of brass, and their chapiters, with the golden tables and the candlesticks; and when he had carried these off, he set fire to the temple in the fifth month, the first day of the month, on the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah, and in the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar; he also burnt the palace, and overthrew the city. Now the temple was burnt four hundred and seventy years, six months and ten days, after it was built. It was then one thousand and sixty-two years, six months and ten days, from the departure out of Egypt; and from the deluge to the destruction of the temple, the whole interval was one thousand nine hundred fifty-seven years, six months and ten days; but from the generation of Adam, until this befel the temple, there were three thousand five hundred and thirteen years, six months and ten days; so great was the number of years hereto belonging. And what actions were done during these years, we have particularly related. But the general of the Babylonian king now overthrew the city to the very foundations, and removed all the people, and took for prisoners the high priest Seraiah, and Zephaniah the priest that was next to him, and the rulers that guarded the temple, who were three in number, and the eunuch who was over the armed men, and seven friends of Zedekiah, and his

scribe, and sixty other rulers, all which, together with the vessels which they had pillaged, he carried to the king of Babylon to Riblah, a city of Syria. So the king commanded the heads of the high priest and of the rulers to be cut off there; but he himself led all the captives, and Zedekiah to Babylon. He also led Josedek the high priest away bound. He was the son of Seraiah the high priest, whom the king of Babylon had slain in Riblah, a city of Syria, as we have just now related.

2. And now, because we have enumerated the succession of the kings, and who they were, and how long they reigned, I think it necessary to set down the names of the high priests, and who they were that succeeded one another in the high priesthood under the kings. The first high priest then at the temple which Solomon built, was Zadoc; after him his son Achimas received that dignity; after Achimas was Azarias; his son was Joram, and Joram's son was Isus, after him was Axioramus; his son was Phideas, and Phideas's son was Sudeas, and Sudeas's son was Juelus, and Juelus's son was Jotham, and Jotham's son was Urias, and Urias's son was Nerias, and Nerias's son was Odeas, and his son was Sallumus, and Sallumus's son was Elcias, and his son * [was Azarias, and his son] was Sareas, and his son was Josadoc, who was carried captive to Babylon. All these received the high priesthood by succession, the sons from their father.

7. When the king was come to Babylon, he kept Zedekiah in prison until he died, and buried him magnificently, and dedicated the vessels he had pillaged out of the temple of Jerusalem to his own gods, and planted the people in the country of Babylon, but freed the high priest from his bonds.

CHAP. IX.

How Nebuzaradan set Gedaliah over the Jews that were left in Judea, which Gedaliah was a little afterward slain by Ishmael: and how Johanan, after Ishmael was driven away, went down into Egypt with the people, which people Nebuchadnezzar, when he made an expedition against the Egyptians, took captive, and brought them away to Babylon.

§ 1. Now the general of the army, Nebuzaradan, when he had carried the people of the Jews into captivity, left the

* I have here inserted in brackets this high priest Azarias, though he be omitted in all Josephus's copies, out of the Jewish chronicle, Sedar Olam, of how little authority soever I generally esteem such late rabbinical historians, because we know from Josephus himself, that the number of the high priests belonging to this interval was eighteen, Antiq. B. XX. chap. x. whereas his copies have here but seventeen.

poor, and those that had deserted, in the country, and made one, whose name was *Gedaliah*, the son of Ahikam, a person of a noble family, their governor; which Gedaliah was of a gentle and righteous disposition. He also commanded them that they should cultivate the ground, and pay an appointed tribute to the king. He also took Jeremiah the prophet out of prison, and would have persuaded him to go along with him to Babylon, for that he had been enjoined by the king to supply him with whatsoever he wanted: and if he did not like to do so, he desired him to inform him where he resolved to dwell, that he might signify the same to the king: but the prophet had no mind to follow him, nor to dwell any where else, but would gladly live in the ruins of his country, and in the miserable remains of it. When the general understood what his purpose was, he enjoined Gedaliah, whom he left behind, to take all possible care of him, and to supply him with whatsoever he wanted: So when he had given him rich preseuts, he dismissed him. Accordingly, Jeremiah abode in a city of that country, which was called *Mispah;* and desired of Nebuzaradan, that he would set at liberty his disciple * Baruch, the son of Neraiah, one of a very eminent family, and exceeding skilful in the language of his country.

2. When Nebuzaradan had done thus, he made haste to Babylon: But as to those that fled away during the siege of Jerusalem, and had been scattered over the country, when they heard that the Babylonians were gone away, and had left a remnant in the land of Jerusalem, and those such as were to cultivate the same, they came together from all parts to Gedaliah to Mispah. Now the rulers that were over them were Johanan, the son of Kareah, and Jazeniah, and Seraiah, and others beside them. Now there was of the royal family one Ishmael, a wicked man, and very crafty, who during the siege of Jerusalem, fled to Baalis, the king of the Ammonites, and abode with him during that time: And Gedaliah persuaded them now they were there, to stay with him, and to have no fear of the Babylonians, for that if they would cultivate the country, they should suffer no harm. This he assured them of by oath; and said, that they should have him for their patron, and that if any disturbance should arise, they should find him ready to defend them. He also advised them to dwell in any city, as every one of them pleased; and that they would send men along with his own servants, and rebuild their houses upon the old foundations, and dwell there, and he admonished them before-hand, that they should make

* Of this character of Baruch the son of Neriah, and the genuineness of his book that stands now in our Apocrypha, and that is really a canonical book, and an appendix to Jeremiah, see Authent. Rec. part I. page 1—11.

preparation, while the season lasted, of corn, and wine, and oil, that they might have whereon to feed during the winter. When he had thus discoursed to them, he dismissed them, that every one might dwell in what place of the country he pleased.

3. Now when this report was spread abroad as far as the nations that bordered on Judea, that Gedaliah kindly entertained those that came to him, after they had fled away, upon this (only) condition, that they should pay tribute to the king of Babylon, they also came readily to Gedaliah, and inhabited the country. And when Johanan and the rulers that were with him observed the country, and the humanity of Gedaliah, they were exceedingly in love with him, and told him that Baalis, the king of the Ammonites, had sent Ishmael to kill him by treachery, and secretly, that he might have the dominion over the Israelites, as being of the royal family; and they said that he might deliver himself from this treacherous design, if he would give them leave to slay Ishmael, and nobody should know it, for they told him they were afraid that when he was killed by the other, the entire ruin of the remaining strength of the Israelites would ensue: But he professed, That " he did not believe what " they said, when they told him of such a treacherous design, in " a man that had been well treated by him; because it was not " probable that one who, under such a want of all things, had " failed of nothing that was necessary for him, should be found " so wicked and ungrateful towards his benefactor, that when " it would be an instance of wickedness in him not to save him, " had he been treacherously assaulted by others to endeavour, " and that earnestly, to kill him with his own hand: That how- " ever, if he ought to suppose this information to be true, it " was better for himself to be slain by the other, than to de- " stroy a man who fled to him for refuge, and entrusted his own " safety to him, and committed himself to his disposal."

4. So Johanan, and the rulers that were with him not being able to persuade Gedaliah, went away: but after the interval of thirty days was over, Ishmael came again to Gedaliah, to the city Mispah and ten men with him, and when he had feasted Ishmael, and those that were with him in a splendid manner, at his table, and had given them presents, he became disordered in drink, while he endeavoured to be very merry with them; and when Ishmael saw him in that case, and that he was drowned in his cups to the degree of insensibility, and fallen asleep, he rose on a sudden, with his ten friends, and slew Gedaliah and those that were with him at the feast, and when he had slain them, he went out by night, and slew all the Jews that were in the city, and those soldiers also which were left therein by the Babylonians: But the next day fourscore men came out of the

country with presents to Gedaliah, none of them knowing what had befallen him; when Ishmael saw them, he invited them in to Gedaliah, and when they were come in, he shut up the court, and slew them, and cast their dead bodies down into a certain deep pit, that they might not be seen; but of these fourscore men Ishmael spared those that entreated him not to kill them; till they had delivered up to him what riches they had concealed in the fields, consisting of their furniture, and garments, and corn: but he took captive the people that were in Mispah, with their wives and children; among whom were the daughters of king Zedekiah, whom Nebuzaradan, the general of the army of Babylon, had left with Gedaliah: And when he had done this, he came to the king of the Ammonites.

5. But when Johanan and the rulers with him heard of what was done at Mispah by Ishmael, and of the death of Gedaliah, they had indignation at it, and every one of them took his own armed men and came suddenly to fight with Ishmael, and overtook him at the fountain in Hebron: And when those that were carried away captives by Ishmael, saw Johanan and the rulers, they were very glad; and looked upon them as coming to their assistance; so they left him that had carried them captives, and came over to Johanan: then Ishmael, with eight men, fled to the king of the Ammonites; but Johanan took those whom he had rescued out of the hands of Ishmael, and the eunuchs, and their wives and children, and came to a certain place called *Mandra*, and there they abode that day, for they had determined to remove from thence, and go into Egypt, out of fear lest the Babylonians should slay them in case they continued in the country, and that out of anger at the slaughter of Gedaliah, who had been by them set over it for governor.

6. Now while they were under this deliberation, Johanan, the son of Kareah, and the rulers that were with him, came to Jeremiah the prophet, and desired that he would pray to God that because they were at an utter loss about what they ought to do, he would discover it to them, and they sware that they would do whatsoever Jeremiah should say to them. And when the prophet said he would be their intercessor with God, it came to pass, that after ten days God appeared to him, and said, "That he "would inform Johanan and the other rulers, and all the people, "that he would be with them while they continued in that coun- "try, and take care of them, and keep them from being hurt "by the Babylonians, of whom they were afraid, but that he "would desert them, if they went into Egypt, and out of his "wrath against them, would inflict the same punishments upon "them which they knew their brethren had already endured." So when the prophet had informed Johanan and the people that

God had foretold these things, he was not believed, when he said that God commanded them to continue in that country, but they imagined that he said so to gratify Baruch, his own disciple, and belied God, and that he persuaded them to stay there, that they might be destroyed by the Babylonians. Accordingly, both the people and Johanan disobeyed the counsel of God, which he gave them by the prophet, and removed into Egypt, and carried Jeremiah and Baruch along with him.

7. And when they were there, God signified to the prophet, that the king of Babylon was about making an expedition against the Egyptians, and commanded him to foretel to the people that Egypt should be taken, and the king of Babylon should slay some of them, and should take others captive, and bring them to Babylon; which things came to pass accordingly: for on the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem, which was the twenty-third of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, he made an expedition against Celœsyria, and when he had possessed himself of it, he made war against the Ammonites and Moabites; and when he had brought all these nations under subjection, he fell upon Egypt, in order to overthrow it; and he slew the * king that then reigned, and set up another; and he took those Jews that were there captives, and led them away to Babylon. And such was the end of the nation of the Hebrews, as it hath been delivered down to us, it having gone twice beyond Euphrates; for the people of the ten tribes were carried out of Samaria by the Assyrians, in the days of king Hoshea; after which the people of the two tribes that remained after Jerusalem was taken, [were carried away] by Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon and Chaldea. Now as to Shalmanezer, he removed the Israelites out of their country, and placed therein the nation of the Cutheans, who had formerly belonged to the inner parts of Persia and Media, but were then called *Samaritans*, by taking the name of the country to which they were removed; but the king of Babylon, who brought out the two tribes †, placed no other nation in their country, by which means all Judea and Jerusalem, and the temple, continued to be a desart for seventy years: but

* Herodotus says, this king of Egypt [Pharaoh Hophra, or Apries] was slain by the Egyptians, as Jeremiah foretold his slaughter by his enemies, Jer. xliv. 29, 30. and that as a sign of the destruction of Egypt [by Nebuchadnezzar,] Josephus says, this king was slain by Nebuchadnezzar himself.

† We see here that Judea was left in a manner desolate after the captivity of the two tribes, and was not repeopled with foreign colonies, perhaps as an indication of Providence that the Jews were to repeople it without opposition themselves. I also esteem the latter and present desolate condition of the same country, without being repeopled by foreign colonies, to be a like indication, that the same Jews are hereafter to repeople it again themselves, at their so long expected future restoration.

the entire interval of time which passed from the captivity of the Israelites, to the carrying away of the two tribes, proved to be an hundred and thirty years six months and ten days.

CHAP. X.

Concerning Daniel, and what befel him at Babylon.

§ 1. BUT now Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon took some of the most noble of the Jews that were children and the kinsmen of Zedekiah their king, such as were remarkable for the beauty of their bodies, and the comeliness of their countenances, and delivered them into the hands of tutors, and to the improvement to be made by them. He also made some of them to be eunuchs; which course he took also with those of other nations, whom he had taken in the flower of their age, and afforded them their diet from his own table, and had them instructed in the institutes of the country, and taught the learning of the Chaldeans; and they had now exercised themselves sufficiently in that wisdom which he had ordered they should apply themselves to.— Now among these there were four of the family of Zedekiah, of most excellent dispositions, one of whom was called *Daniel*, another was called *Ananias*, another *Mesael*, and the fourth *Azarias:* And the king of Babylon changed their names, and commanded that they should make use of other names; Daniel he called *Baltasar*, Ananias, *Shadrach*, Mesael, *Meshach*, and Azarias, *Abednego*. These the king had in esteem, and continued to love, because of the very excellent temper they were of, and because of their application to learning, and the progress they had made in wisdom.

2. Now Daniel and his kinsmen, had resolved to use a severe diet, and to abstain from those kinds of food which came from the king's table, and entirely to forbear to eat of all living creatures: So he came to Ashpenaz, who was that * eunuch to whom the care of them was committed, and desired him to take and spend what was brought for them from the king, but to give them pulse and dates for their food, and any thing else, besides the flesh of living creatures, that he pleased; for that their inclinations were to that sort of food, and that they despised the

* That Daniel was made one of these eunuchs of which Isaiah prophesied Isa. xxxix. 7. and the three children his companions also, seems to me plain, both here in Josephus, and in our copies of Daniel, Dan. i. 3, 6, 7—11, 18. although it must be granted that some married persons, that had children were sometimes called eunuchs, in a general acceptation for courtiers, on account that so many of the ancient courtiers were real eunuchs. See Gen. xxxix. 1.

other. He replied, that he was ready to serve them in what they desired, but he suspected that they would be discovered by the king, from their meagre bodies, and the alteration of their countenances, because it could not be avoided but their bodies and colours must be changed with their diet, especially while they would be clearly discovered by the finer appearance of the other children, who would fare better, and thus they should bring him in danger, and occasion him to be punished: yet did they persuade Arioch, who was thus fearful, to give them what food they desired for ten days, by way of trial, and in case the habit of their bodies were not altered, to go on in the same way, as expecting that they should not be hurt thereby afterwards, but if he saw them look meagre, and worse than the rest, he should reduce them to their former diet. Now when it appeared that they were so far from becoming worse by the use of this food, that they grew plumper and fuller in body than the rest, insomuch that he thought those who fed on what came from the king's table seemed less plump and full, while those that were with Daniel looked as if they had lived in plenty, and all sorts of luxury; Arioch, from that time, securely took himself what the king sent every day from his supper, according to custom, to the children, but gave them the forementioned diet, while they had their souls in some measure more pure, and less burdened, and so fitter for learning, and had their bodies in better tune for hard labour, for they neither had the former oppressed and heavy with variety of meats, nor were the other effeminate on the same account; so they readily understood all the learning that was among the Hebrews, and among the Chaldeans, as especially did Daniel, who being already sufficiently skilful in wisdom, was very busy about the interpretation of dreams; and God manifested himself to him.

3. Now two years after the destruction of Egypt, king Nebuchadnezzar saw a wonderful dream, the accomplishment of which God shewed him in his sleep, but when he arose out of his bed, he forgot the accomplishment: So he sent for the Chaldeans and magicians, and the prophets, and told them, that he had seen a dream, and informed them that he had forgotten the accomplishment of what he had seen, and he enjoined them to tell him, both what the dream was, and what was its signification; and they said that this was a thing impossible to be discovered by men, but they promised him, that if he would explain to them what dream he had seen, they would tell him its signification.—Hereupon he threatened to put them to death; unless they told him his dream: and he gave command to have them all put to death, since they confessed they could not do what they were commanded to do. Now when Daniel heard that the king had

given a command, that all the wise men should be put to death, and that among them himself and his three kinsmen were in danger, he went to Arioch, who was captain of the king's guards, and desired to know of him what was the reason why the king had given command that all the wise men, and Chaldeans, and magicians, should be slain. So when he had learned that the king had had a dream, and had forgotten it, and that when they were enjoined to inform the king of it, they had said they could not do it; and had thereby provoked him to anger, he desired of Arioch that he would go in to the king, and desire respite for the magicians for one night, and to put off their slaughter so long, for that he hoped within that time to obtain, by prayer to God, the knowledge of the dream. Accordingly, Arioch informed the king of what Daniel desired: So the king bid them delay the slaughter of the magicians till he knew what Daniel's promise would come to; but the young man retired to his own house, with his kinsmen, and besought God that whole night to discover the dream, and thereby deliver the magicians and Chaldeans, with whom they were themselves to perish, from the king's anger, by enabling him to declare his vision, and to make manifest what the king had seen the night before in his sleep, but had forgotten it. Accordingly, God out of pity to those that were in danger, and out of regard to the wisdom of Daniel, made known to him the dream and its interpretation, that so the king might understand by him its signification also. When Daniel had obtained this knowledge from God, he arose very joyful, and told it his brethren, and made them glad, and to hope well, that they should now preserve their lives, of which they despaired before, and had their minds full of nothing but the thoughts of dying. So when he had with them returned thanks to God who had commiserated their youth, when it was day he came to Arioch, and desired him to bring him to the king, because he would discover to him that dream which he had seen the night before.

4. When Daniel was come in to the king, he excused himself first, that "he did not pretend to be wiser than the other Chal-"deans and magicians, when, upon their entire inability to dis-"cover his dream, he was undertaking to inform him of it, for "this was not by his own skill, or on account of his having bet-"ter cultivated his understanding than the rest, but he said, God "hath had pity upon us, when we were in danger of death, and "when I prayed for the life of myself, and of those of my own "nation, hath made manifest to me both the dream, and the in-"terpretation thereof, for I was not less concerned for thy glory "than for the sorrow that we were by thee condemned to die, "while thou didst so unjustly command men, both good and

"excellent in themselves, to be put to death, when thou enjoinedst "them to do what was entirely above the reach of human wis-"dom, and requiredst of them what was the work only of God. "Wherefore, as thou in thy sleep was solicitous concerning those "that should succeed thee in the government of the whole "world, God was desirous to shew thee all those that should "reign after thee, and to that end exhibited to thee the follow-"ing dream: Thou seemedst to see a great image standing be-"fore thee, the head of which proved to be of gold, the shoulders "and arms of silver, and the belly and the thighs of brass, but the "legs and the feet of iron; after which thou sawest a stone bro-"ken off from a mountain, which fell upon the image and threw "it down and brake it to pieces, and did not permit any part of "it to remain whole, but the gold, the silver, the iron, and the "brass, became smaller than meal, which upon the blast of a vio-"lent wind, was by force carried away, and scattered abroad, "but the stone did increase to such a degree, that the whole earth "beneath it seemed to be filled therewith. This is the dream "which thou sawest, and its interpretation is as follows: The "head of gold denotes thee, and the kings of Babylon that have "been before thee; but the two hands and arms signify this, "that your government shall be dissolved by two kings; but an-"other king that shall come from the west, armed with brass, "shall destroy that government; and another government that "shall be like unto iron shall put an end to the power of the for-"mer, and shall have dominion over all the earth, on account of "the nature of iron, which is stronger than that of gold, of sil-"ver, and of brass." Daniel did also declare the meaning of * the stone to the king, but I do not think proper to relate it, since I have only undertaken to describe things past or things present, but not things that are future: yet if any one be so very desirous of knowing truth, as not to wave such points of curiosity, and cannot curb his inclination for understanding the uncertainties of futurity, and whether they will happen or not, let him be diligent in reading the book of Daniel, which he will find among the sacred writings.

5. When Nebuchadnezzar heard this, and recollected his dream, he was astonished at the nature of Daniel, and fell upon his face,

* Of this most remarkable passage in Josephus, concerning the *stone cut out of the mountain, and destroyed the image*, which he would not explain, but intimated to be a prophecy of futurity, and probably not safe for him to explain, as belonging to the destruction of the Roman empire by Jesus Christ, the true Messiah of the Jews, take the words of Havercamp, chap. x. § 4. "Nor is this to be wondered at, that "he would not now meddle with things future, for he had no mind to provoke the "Romans, by speaking of the destruction of that city which they called the *eternal* "*city*."

and saluted Daniel in the manner that men worship God, and gave command that he should be sacrificed to as a god. And this was not all, for he also imposed the name of his own god upon him, [Baltasar], and made him and his kinsmen rulers of his whole kingdom; which kinsmen of his happened to fall into great danger by the envy and malice [of their enemies]; for they offended the king upon the occasion following: he made an image of gold, whose height was sixty cubits, and its breadth six cubits, and set it in the great plain of Babylon; and when he was going to dedicate the image, he invited the principal men out of all the earth that was under his dominions, and commanded them in the first place, that when they should hear the sound of the trumpet, they should then fall down and worship the image; and he threatened, that those who did not so, should be cast into a fiery furnace. When therefore all the rest, upon the hearing of the sound of the trumpet, worshipped the image, they related that Daniel's kinsmen did not do it, because they would not transgress the laws of their country: So these men were convicted and cast immediately into the fire, but were saved by divine providence, and after a surprising manner escaped death, for the fire did not touch them: and I suppose that it touched them not, as if it reasoned with itself, that they were cast into it without any fault of theirs, and that therefore it was too weak to burn the young men when they were in it. This was done by the power of God, who made their bodies so far superior to the fire, that it could not consume them. This it was which recommended them to the king as righteous men, and men beloved of God, on which account they continued in great esteem with him.

6. A little after this the king saw in his sleep again another vision; how he should fall from his dominion, and feed among the wild beasts, and that when he had lived in this manner in the desert for * seven years, he should recover his dominion again.

* Since Josephus here explains the *seven* prophetic *times* which were to pass over Nebuchadnezzar, Dan. iv. 16. to be *seven years*, we thence learn how he most probably must have understood those other parallel phrases, of *a time, times and an half*, Antiq. B. VII. chap. xxv. of so many prophetic *years* also, though he withal lets us know, by his hint at the interpretation of the *seventy weeks*, as belonging to the fourth monarchy, and the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in the days of Josephus, chap. ii. § 7. that he did not think those *years* to be *bare years*, but rather *days for years*; by which reckoning, and by which alone, could 70 weeks, or 490 days reach to the age of Josephus. But as to the truth of those seven years' banishment of Nebuchadnezzar from men, and his living so long among the beasts, the very small remains we have any where else of this Nebuchadnezzar, prevent our expectation of any other full account of it. So far we know by Ptolemy's canon, a contemporary record, as well as by Josephus presently, that he reigned in all 43 years, that is, eight years after we meet with any account of his actions; one of the last, of which was the 13 years siege of Tyre, Antiq. B. X. chap. xi. where yet the Old Latin has but three years and ten months, yet were his actions before so remark-

When he had seen this dream, he called the magicians together again, and inquired of them about it, and desired them to tell him what it signified; but when none of them could find out the meaning of the dream, nor discover it to the king, Daniel was the only person that explained it: and as he foretold so it came to pass; for after he had continued in the wilderness the forementioned interval of time, while no one durst attempt to seize his kingdom during those seven years, he prayed to God that he might recover his kingdom, and he returned to it. But let no one blame me for writing down every thing of this nature, as I find it in our ancient books; for as to that matter, I have plainly assured those that think me defective in any such point, or complain of my management, and have told them in the beginning of this history, that I intended to do no more than translate the Hebrew books into the Greek language, and promised them to explain those facts, without adding any thing to them of my own, or taking any thing away from them.

CHAP. XI.

Concerning Nebuchadnezzar and his successors: and how their government was dissolved by the Persians; and what things befel Daniel in Media, and what prophecies he delivered there.

§ 1. Now when king Nebuchadnezzar had reigned * forty-three years, he ended his life. He was an active man, and more fortunate than the kings that were before him. Now Berosus makes mention of his actions in the third book of his Chaldaic history, where he says thus: "When his father Nebuchodonosor "[Nabopolassar] heard that the governor whom he had set "over Egypt, and the places about Celœsyria and Phenicia, had "revolted from him, while he was not himself able any longer to "undergo the hardships [of war], he committed to his son Ne-"buchadnezzar, who was still but a youth, some parts of his "army, and sent them against them. So when Nebuchadnez-"zar had given battle, and fought with the rebel, he beat him, "and reduced the country from under his subjection, and made

able, both in sacred and profane authors, that such vacuity of eight years at the least, at the latter end of his reign, must be allowed to agree very well with Daniel's accounts, that after a seven years' brutal life, he might return to his reason, and to the exercise of his royal authority, for one whole year at least before his death.

* These 43 years for the duration of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar are, as I have just now observed, the very same number in Ptolemy's canon. Moses Chorenensis does also confirm this captivity of the Jews under Nebuchadnezzar, and adds, what is very remarkable, that one of those Jews that were carried by him into captivity got away into Armenia, and raised the great family of the Bagraditæ there.

" it a branch of his own kingdom; but about that time it happen-
" ed, that his father Nebuchodonosor [Nabopollassar] fell ill, and
" ended his life in the city Babylon, when he had reigned*
" twenty-one years; and when he was made sensible, as he was
" in a little time, that his father Nebuchodonosor [Nabopollas-
" sar] was dead, and having settled the affairs of Egypt, and the
" other countries, as also those that concerned the captive Jews
" and Phœnicians, and Syrians, and those of the Egyptian
" nations, and having committed the conveyence of them to
" Babylon to certain of his friends, together with the gross of
" his army, and the rest of their ammunition and provisions,
" he went himself hastily, accompanied with a few others,
" over the desert, and came to Babylon. So he took upon him
" the management of public affairs, and of the kingdom which
" had been kept for him by one that was the principal of the
" Chaldeans, and he received the entire dominions of his father,
" and appointed, that when the captives came, they should be
" placed as colonies, in the most proper places of Babylonia;
" but then he adorned the temple of Belus, and the rest of the
" temples, in a magnificent manner, with the spoils he had taken
" in the war. He also added another city to that which was there
" of old, and rebuilt it, that such as would besiege it hereafter
" might no more turn the course of the river, and thereby attack
" the city itself: He therefore built three walls round about the
" inner city, and three others about that which was the outer,
" and this he did with burnt brick. And after he had, after a
" becoming manner, walled the city, and adorned its gates glo-
" riously, he built another palace before his father's palace, but
" so that they joined to it; to describe whose vast height, and
" immense riches, it would perhaps be too much for me to at-
" tempt; yet as large and lofty as they were, they were com-
" pleted in † fifteen days. He also erected elevated places for

* These 21 years here ascribed to one named *Naboulasser* in the first book against Apion, or to Nabopollassar, the father of the great Nebuchadnezzar, are also the very same with those given him in Ptolemy's canon. And note here, that what Dr. Prideaux says, at the year 612, that Nebuchadnezzar must have been a common name of the other kings of Babylon, besides the great Nebuchadnezzar himself, is a groundless mistake of some modern chronologers only, and destitute of all proper original authority.

† These *fifteen* days for finishing such vast buildings at Babylon, in Josephus's copy of Berosus, would seem too absurd to be supposed to be the true number, were it not for the same testimony extant also in the first book against Apion, § 19. with the same number. It thence indeed appears, that Josephus's copy of Berosus had this small number, but that it is the true number I still doubt. Josephus assures us, that the walls of so much a smaller city as Jerusalem were two years and four months in building by Nehemiah, who yet hastened the work all he could, Antiq. B. XI. chap. v. § 8. I should think 115 days, or a year and 15 days, much more proportionable to so great a work.

"walking, of stone, and made it resemble mountains, and built "it so that it might be planted with all sorts of trees. He "also erected what was called a pensile paradise, because his "wife was desirous to have things like her own country, she "having been bred up in the palaces of Media." Megasthenes also, in his fourth book of his accounts of India, makes mention of these things, and thereby endeavours to shew that this king [Nebuchadnezzar] exceeded Hercules, in fortitude, and in the greatness of his actions; for he saith, that "he conquered a "great part of Lybia and Iberia." Diocles also, in the second book of his accounts of Persia, mentions this king; as does Philostrates in his accounts both of India and of Phœnicia, say, that "this king besieged Tyre thirteen years, while at the same "time Ethball reigned at Tyre." These are all the histories that I have met with concerning this king.

2. But now after the death of Nebuchadnezzar, Evil-Merodach his son succeeded in the kingdom, who immediately set Jeconiah at liberty, and esteemed him among his most intimate friends: He also gave him many presents, and made him honourable above the rest of the kings that were in Babylon; for his father had not kept his faith with Jeconiah, when he voluntarily delivered up himself to him, with his wives and children, and his whole kindred, for the sake of his country, that it might not be taken by siege, and utterly destroyed, as we said before. When Evil-Merodach was dead, after a reign of eighteen years, Niglissar his son took the government, and retained it forty years, and then ended his life: and after him the succession in the kingdom came to his son Labofordacus, who continued in it in all but nine months; and when he was dead it came to * Baltasar, who, by the Babylonians, was called Naboandelus; against him did Cyrus, the king of Persia, and Darius, the king of Media, make

* It is here remarkable, that Josephus, without the knowledge of Ptolemy's canon, should call the same king whom he himself here, (Bar. i. 11. and Dan. v. 1, 2, 9. 12, 22, 29, 30.) styles *Beltazar*, or *Belshazzar*, from the Babylonian god Bel, *Neboandelus* also; but in the first book against Apion § 19. vol. iii. from the same citation out of Berosus, *Nabonnedon*, from the Babylonian god Nabo or Nebo. This last is not remote from the original pronunciation itself in Ptolemy's canon, *Nabonadius*, for both the place of this king in that canon, as the last of the Assyrian or Babylonian kings, and the number of years of his reign, seventeen, the same in both, demonstrate that it is one and the same king that is meant by them all. It is also worth noting, that Josephus knew that Darius, the partner of Cyrus, was the son of Astyages, and was called by another name among the Greeks, though it does not appear he knew what that name was, as having never seen the best history of this period, which is Xenophon's: But then what Josephus's present copies say presently, § 4. that it was only within *no long time* after the hand writing on the wall that Beltasar was slain, does not so agree with our copies of Daniel, which say it was *the same night*, Dan. v. 30.

war; and when he was besieged in Babylon, there happened a wonderful and prodigious vision. He was sat down at supper in a large room, and there were a great many vessels of silver, such as were made for royal entertainments, and he had with him his concubines, and his friends; whereupon he came to a resolution, and commanded that those vessels of God which Nebuchadnezzar had plundered out of Jerusalem, and had not made use of, but had put them into his own temple, should be brought out of that temple. He also grew so haughty as to proceed to use them in the midst of his cups drinking out of them, and blaspheming against God. In the mean time he saw an hand proceed out of the wall, and writing upon the wall certain syllables: at which sight being disturbed, he called the magicians and Chaldeans together, and all that sort of men that are among these Barbarians, and were able to interpret signs and dreams, that they might explain the writing to him. But when the magicians said they could discover nothing, nor did understand it, the king was in great disorder of mind, and under great trouble at this surprising accident, so he caused it to be proclaimed through all the country, and promised, that to him who could explain the writing, and give the signification couched therein, he would give him a golden chain for his neck, and leave to wear a purple garment, as did the kings of Chaldea, and would bestow on him the third part of his own dominions. * When this proclamation was made, the magicians ran together more earnestly, and were very ambitious to find out the importance of the writing, but still hesitated about it as much as before. Now when the king's * grandmother saw him cast down at this accident, she began to encourage him, and to say, that "there was a certain captive who came from Judea, "a Jew by birth, but brought away thence by Nebuchadnezzar, "when he had destroyed Jerusalem, whose name was Daniel, a "wise man, and one of great sagacity in finding out what was "impossible for others to discover, and what was known "to God alone; who brought to light and answered such "questions to Nebuchadnezzar, as no one else was able to answer, when they were consulted. She therefore desired that "he would send for him, and inquire of him concerning the "writing, and to condemn the unskilfulness of those that could "not find their meaning, and this, although what God signified "thereby should be of a melancholy nature."

* This grandmother or mother of Baltasar, the queen Dowager of Babylon, (for she is distinguished from his queen, Dan. v. 10. 23.) seems to have been the famous Nitceris, who fortified Babylon against the Medes and Persians, and in all probability governed under Beltasar, who seems to have been a weak and effeminate prince.

3. When Baltasar heard this, he called for Daniel; and when he had discoursed to him what he had learned concerning him and his wisdom, and how a divine spirit was with him; and that he alone was fully capable of finding out what others would never have thought of, he desired him to declare to him what this writing meant: That if he did so, he would give him leave to wear purple, and to put a chain of gold about his neck, and would bestow on him the third part of his dominion, as an honorary reward for his wisdom, that thereby he might become illustrious to those who saw him, and who inquired upon what occasion he obtained such honours. But Daniel desired, "That "he would keep his gifts to himself: for what is the effect of "wisdom, and of divine revelation, admits of no gifts, and be-"stows its advantages on petitioners freely, but that still he would "explain the writing to him: which denoted, that he should "soon die, and this because he had not learnt to honour God, "and not to admit things above human nature, by what punish-"ments his progenitors had undergone, for the injuries he had "offered to God; and because he had quite forgotten how Ne-"buchadnezzar was removed to feed among wild beasts, for his "impieties, and did not recover his former life among men, and "his kingdom, but upon God's mercy to him, after many sup-"plications and prayers; who did thereupon praise God all the "days of his life, as one of almighty power, and who takes care "of mankind. [He also put him in mind] how he had greatly "blasphemed against God, and had made use of his vessels, "amongst his concubines: that therefore God saw this, and was "angry with him, and declared by this writing before-hand "what a sad conclusion of his life he should come to. And he "explained the writing thus;—*MANEH*. This, if it be ex-"pounded in the Greek language, may signify, a *Number*, be-"cause God hath numbered so long a time for thy life, and for "thy government, and that there remains but a small portion. "*THEKEL*. This signifies, a *Weight*, and means that God "hath weighed thy kingdom in a balance, and finds it going "down already. *PHARES*. This also, in the Greek tongue, "denotes a *Fragment;* God will therefore break thy kingdom "in pieces, and divide it among the Medes and Persians."

4. When Daniel had told the king, that the writing upon the wall signified these events, Baltasar was in great sorrow and affliction, as was to be expected, when the interpretation was so heavy upon him. However, he did not refuse what he had promised Daniel, although he were become a foreteller of misfortunes to him, but bestowed it all upon him: as reasoning thus, that what he was to reward was peculiar to himself, and to fate, and did not belong to the prophet; but that it was the part of a

good and a just man to give what he had promised, although the events were of a melancholy nature. Accordingly, the king determined so to do. Now after a little while, both himself and the city, were taken by Cyrus, the king of Persia, who fought against him; for it was Baltasar, under whom Babylon was taken, when he had reigned seventeen years. And this is the end of the posterity of king Nebuchadnezzar, as history informs us; but when Babylon was taken by Darius, and when he, with his kinsman Cyrus, had put an end to the dominion of the Babylonians, he was sixty-two years old. He was the son of Astyages, and had another name among the Greeks. Moreover, he took Daniel the prophet, and carried him with him into Media, and honoured him very greatly, and kept him with him; for he was one of the three presidents whom he set over his three hundred and sixty provinces, for into so many did Darius part them.

5. However, while Daniel was in so great a dignity, and in so great favour with Darius, and was alone intrusted with every thing by him, as having somewhat divine in him, he was envied by the rest; for those that see others in greater honour than themselves with kings, envy them: and when those that were grieved at the great favour Daniel was in with Darius, sought for an occasion against him, he afforded them no occasion at all, for he was above all the temptations of money, and despised bribery, and esteemed it a very base thing to take any thing by way of reward, even when it might be justly given him, he afforded those that envied him not the least handle for an accusation. So when they could find nothing for which they might calumniate him to the king: nothing that was shameful or reproachful, and thereby deprive him of the honour he was in with him, they sought for some other method whereby they might destroy him. When therefore they saw that Daniel prayed to God three times a-day, they thought they had gotten an occasion by which they might ruin him; so they came to Darius, and told him, That "the princes and governors "had thought proper to allow the multitude a relaxation for "thirty days, that no one might offer a petition or prayer either "to himself, or to the gods, but that he who shall transgress this "decree shall be cast into the den of lions, and there perish."

6. Whereupon, the king, being not acquainted with their wicked design, nor suspecting that it was a contrivance of theirs against Daniel, said, he was pleased with this decree of theirs, and he promised to confirm what they desired; he also published an edict to promulgate to the people that decree which the princes had made. Accordingly, all the rest took care not to transgress those injunctions, and rested in quiet; but Daniel had no regard

to them, but, as he was wont, he stood and prayed to God in the sight of them all: but the princes having met with the occasion they so earnestly sought to find against Daniel, came presently to the king, and accused him, that Daniel was the only person that transgressed the decree, while not one of the rest durst pray to their gods. This discovery they made, not because of his impiety, but because they had watched him, and observed him out of envy; for supposing that Darius did thus out of a greater kindness to him than they expected, and that he was ready to grant him pardon for this contempt of his injunctions, and envying this very pardon to Daniel, they did not become more favourable to him, but desired he might be cast into the den of lions according to the law. So Darius, hoping that God would deliver him, and that he would undergo nothing that was terrible by the wild beasts, bid him bear this accident cheerfully: And when he was cast into the den, he put his seal to the stone that lay upon the mouth of the den, and went his way; but he passed all the night without food, and without sleep, being in great distress for Daniel. But when it was day, he got up, and came to the den, and found the seal entire, which he had left the stone sealed withal; he also opened the seal, and cried out, and called to Daniel, and asked him, If he were alive? And as soon as he heard the king's voice, and said that he had suffered no harm, the king gave order that he should be drawn up out of the den. Now when his enemies saw that Daniel had suffered nothing which was terrible, they would not own that he was preserved by God, and by his Providence; but they said, that the lions had been filled full with food, and on that account it was, as they supposed, that the lions would not touch Daniel, nor come to him; and this they alleged to the king: But the king, out of an abhorrence of their wickedness, gave order, that they should throw in a great deal of flesh to the lions; and when they had filled themselves, he gave farther order that Daniel's enemies should be cast into the den, that he might learn whether the lions, now they were full, would touch them or not. And it appeared plain to Darius, after the princes had been cast to the wild beasts, that it was God who preserved Daniel *, for the lions spared none of them, but tore them all to pieces, as they had been very hungry, and wanted food. I suppose therefore

* It is no way improbable that Daniel's enemies might suggest this reason to the king, why the lions did not meddle with him, and that they suspected the king's kindness to Daniel had procured these lions to be so filled before-hand, and that thence it was that he encouraged Daniel to submit to this experiment, in hopes of coming off safe; and that this was the true reason of making so terrible an experiment upon those his enemies, and all their families, Dan. vi. 24. though our other copies do not directly take notice of it.

it was not their hunger, which had been a little before satisfied with abundance of flesh, but the wickedness of these men that provoked them [to destroy the princes]; for if it so please God, that wickedness might, by even those irrational creatures, be esteemed a plain foundation for their punishment.

7. When therefore those that had intended thus to destroy Daniel by treachery, were themselves destroyed, king Darius sent [letters] over all the country, and praised that God whom Daniel worshipped; and said, That "he was the only true God, "and had all power." He had also Daniel in very great esteem, and made him the principal of his friends. Now when Daniel was become so illustrious and famous, on account of the opinion men had that he was beloved of God, he built a tower at Ecbatana in Media: it was a most elegant building, and wonderfully made, and it is still remaining, and preserved to this day; and to such as see it, it appears to have been lately built, and to have been no older than that very day when any one looks upon it, it is * so fresh, flourishing, and beautiful, and no way grown old in so long time, for buildings suffer the same as men do, they grow old as well as they, and by numbers of years their strength is dissolved, and their beauty withered. Now they bury the kings of Media, of Persia, and Parthia, in this tower to this day; and he who was entrusted with the care of it, was a Jewish priest; which thing is also observed to this day: But it is fit to give an account of what this man did, which is most admirable to hear, for he was so happy as to have strange revelations made to him, and those as to one of the greatest of the prophets, insomuch, that while he was alive he had the esteem and applause both of the kings and of the multitude, and now he is dead, he retains a remembrance that will never fail, for the several books that he wrote and left behind him are still read by us till this time, and from them we believe that Daniel conversed with God; for he did not only prophecy of future events, as did the other prophets, but he also determined the time of their accomplishment: And while prophets used to foretel misfortunes, and on that account were disagreeable both to the kings and to the multitude, Daniel was to them a prophet of good things, and this to such a degree, that by the agreeable nature of his predictions, he procured the good-will of all men, and by the accomplish-

* What Josephus here says, that the stones of the sepulchres of the kings of Persia at this tower, or those perhaps of the same sort that are now commonly called the ruins of Persepolis, continued so entire and unaltered in his days, as if they were lately put there, "I," says Reland, here can shew to be true, as to those stones of "the Persian kings mausoleum which Corn. Brunius brake off and gave me." He ascribed this to the hardness of the stones, which scarcely yields to iron tools, and proves frequently too hard for cutting by the chissel, but oftentimes breaks into pieces.

ment of them, he procured the belief of their truth, and the opinion of [a sort of] divinity for himself, among the multitude. He also wrote and left behind him what made manifest the accuracy and undeniable veracity of his predictions; For he saith, That " when he was in Susa, the metropolis of Persia, and went " out into the field with his companions, there was, on the sud- " den, a motion and concussion of the earth, and that he was " left alone by himself, his friends flying away from him; and " that he was disturbed, and fell on his face, and on his two " hands, and that a certain person touched him, and, at the same " time, bid him rise, and see what would befal his countrymen " after many generations. He also related, that when he stood " up, he was shewn a great ram, with many horns growing out " of his head, and that the last was higher than the rest: that " after this he looked to the west, and saw an he-goat carried " through the air from that quarter; that he rushed upon the " ram with violence, and smote him twice with his horns, and " overthrew him to the ground, and trampled upon him: that " afterward he saw a very great horn growing out of the head " of the he-goat, and that when it was broken off, four horns " grew up that were exposed to each of the four winds, and he " wrote that out of them arose another lesser horn, which, as he " said, waxed great; and that God shewed to him, that it should " fight against his nation, and take their city by force, and bring " the temple-worship to confusion, and forbid the sacrifices to " be offered for one thousand two hundred and ninety-six days." Daniel wrote that he saw these visions in the plain of Susa; and he hath informed us, that God interpreted the appearance of this vision after the following manner; " He said that the ram signi- " fied the kingdoms of the Medes and Persians, and the horns " those kings that were to reign in them: and that the last " horn signified the last king, and that he should exceed all the " kings in riches and glory: that the goat signified that one " should come and reign from the Greeks, who should twice " fight with the Persian, and overcome him in battle, and should " receive his entire dominion; that by the great horn which " sprang out of the forehead of the he-goat was meant the first " king; and that the springing up of four horns upon its falling " off, and the conversion of every one of them to the four quar- " ters of the earth, signified the successors that should arise after " the death of the first king and the partition of the kingdom " among them, and that they should be neither his children, nor " of his kindred, that should reign over the habitable earth for " many years; and that from among them there should arise " a certain king that should overcome our nation and their laws, " and should take away their political government, and should

"spoil the temple, and forbid the sacrifices to be offered for "three years time." And indeed so it came to pass, that our nation suffered these things under Antiochus Epiphanes, according to Daniel's vision, and what he wrote many years before they came to pass. In the very same manner Daniel also wrote concerning the Roman government, and that our country should be made desolate by them. All these things did this man leave in writing, as God had shewed them to him, insomuch, that such as read his prophecies, and see how they have been fulfilled, would wonder at the honour wherewith God honoured Daniel: and may thence discover how the Epicureans are in an error, who cast providence out of human life, and do not believe that God takes care of the affairs of the world, nor that the universe is governed and continued in being by that blessed and immortal nature, but say that the world is carried along of its own accord, without a ruler and a curator: which, were it destitute of a guide to conduct it, as they imagine, it would be like ships without pilots, which we see drowned by the winds, or like chariots without drivers, which are overturned, so would the world be dashed in pieces by its being carried without a Providence, and so perish, and come to nought. So that, by the forementioned predictions of Daniel, those men seem to me very much to err from the truth, who determine, that God exercises no providence over human affairs: for if that were the case, that the world went on by mechanical necessity, we should not see that all things would come to pass according to his prophecy. Now as to myself, I have so described these matters as I have found them and read them; but if any one is inclined to another opinion about them, let him enjoy his different sentiments without any blame from me.

MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S S... TANJORE ... MAHAL

BOOK XI.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY-THREE YEARS AND FIVE MONTHS.

[FROM THE FIRST OF CYRUS TO THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.]

CHAP. I.

How Cyrus, king of the Persians, delivered the Jews out of Babylon, and suffered them to return to their own country, and to build their temple, for which work he gave them money.

§ 1. IN the first year of the reign of * Cyrus, which was the seventieth from the day that our people were removed out of their own land into Babylon, God commiserated the captivity and calamity of these poor people, according as he had foretold to them by Jeremiah the prophet, before the destruction of the city; that after they had served Nebuchadnezzar and his posterity, and after they had undergone that servitude seventy years, he would restore them again to the land of their fathers, and they should build their temple, and enjoy their ancient prosperity. And these things God did afford them: for he stirred up the mind of Cyrus, and made him write this throughout all Asia, "Thus saith Cyrus the king, since God Almighty hath appointed me to be king of the habitable earth, I believe that he is that God which the nation of the Israelites worship, for indeed he foretold my name by the prophets, and that I should build him an house at Jerusalem, in the country of Judea.

2. This was known to Cyrus by his reading the book which Isaiah left behind him of his prophecies; for this prophet said, that God hath spoken thus to him in a secret vision; "My will is, that Cyrus, whom I have appointed to be king over many and great nations, send back my people to their own land; and build my temple." This was foretold by Isaiah one hundred and forty years before the temple was demolished. Accordingly when

* This Cyrus is called *God's shepherd* by Xenophon, as well as by Isaiah, Isa. xliv. 28. as also it is said of him by the same prophet, that "I will make a man more precious than fine gold, even a man than the golden wedge of Ophir," Isa. xiii. 12. which character makes Xenophon's most excellent history of him very credible.

Cyrus read this, and admired the divine power, an earnest desire and ambition seized upon him, to fulfil what was so written; so he called for the most eminent Jews that were in Babylon, and said to them, that "he gave them leave to go back to their "own country, and to rebuild * their city Jerusalem, and the "temple of God, for that he would be their assistant, and that "he would write to the rulers and governors that were in the "neighbourhood of their country of Judea, that they should "contribute to them gold and silver for the building of the "temple, and besides that, beasts for their sacrifices."

3. When Cyrus had said this to the Israelites, the rulers of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, with the Levites, and priests, went in haste to Jerusalem, yet did many of them stay at Babylon, as not willing to leave their possessions; and when they were come thither, all the king's friends assisted them, and brought in, for the building of the temple, some gold and some silver, and some a great many cattle and horses. So they performed their vows to God, and offered the sacrifices that had been accustomed of old time; I mean this upon the rebuilding of their city, and the revival of the ancient practices relating to their worship. Cyrus also sent back to them the vessels of God which king Nebuchadnezzar had pillaged out of the temple, and had carried to Babylon. So he committed these things to Mithridates, the treasurer, to be sent away, with an order to give them to Sanabassar, that he might keep them till the temple was built; and when it was finished, he might deliver them to the priests and rulers of the multitude, in order to their being restored to the temple. Cyrus also sent an epistle to the governors that were in Syria, the contents whereof here follow:

"*King* CYRUS *to* SISINNES *and* SATHRABUZANES, *sendeth* "*greeting.*

"I have given leave, to as many of the Jews that dwell in my "country as please, to return to their own country, and to re-"build their city, and to build the temple of God at Jerusalem, "on the same place where it was before. I have also sent my

* This leave to build Jerusalem, § 2, 3. and the epistle of Cyrus to Sisinnes and Sathrabuzanes, to the same purpose, are most unfortunately omitted in all our copies, but this best and completest copy of Josephus, and by such omission the famous prophecy of Isaiah, Isa. xliv. 23. where we are informed, that God said of, or to Cyrus, "He is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure; even saying to Jerusalem, thou shalt be built, and to the temple, thy foundation shall be laid," could not hitherto be demonstrated from the sacred history to have been completely fulfilled; I mean as to that part of it which concerned his giving leave or commission for rebuilding the city Jerusalem as distinct from the temple, whose rebuilding is alone permitted or directed in the decree of Cyrus in all our copies.

" treasurer Mithridates, and Zorobabel, the governor of the " Jews, that they may lay the foundations of the temple, and " may build it sixty cubits high, and of the same latitude, making " three edifices of polished stones, and one of the wood of the " country, and the same order extends to the altar, whereon " they offer sacrifices to God. I require also, that the sacri- " fices for these things may be given out of my revenues. More- " over, I have also sent the vessels which king Nebuchadnezzar " pillaged out of the temple, and have given them to Mithri- " dates, the treasurer, and to Zorobabel the governor of the " Jews, that they may have them carried to Jerusalem, and " may restore them to the temple of God. Now their * num- " ber is as follows: fifty chargers of gold, and five hundred of " silver; forty Thericleon cups of gold, and five hundred of " silver; fifty basons of gold, and five hundred of silver, thirty " vessels for pouring, [the drink offerings], and three hundred " of silver; thirty vials of gold, and two thousand four hundred " of silver; with a thousand other large vessels. I permit them " to have the same honour which they were used to have from " their forefathers, as also for their small cattle, and for wine " and oil, two hundred and five thousand and five hundred " drachmæ; and for wheat flour, twenty thousand and five " hundred artabæ; and I give order, that these expenses shall " be given them out of the tributes due from Samaria. The " priests shall also offer these sacrifices according to the laws of " Moses in Jerusalem: and when they offer them, they shall pray " to God for the preservation of the king and of his family, " that the kingdom of Persia may continue. But my will is, " that those who disobey these injunctions, and make them void, " shall be hung upon a cross, and their substance brought in- " to the king's treasury." And such was the import of this epistle. Now the number of those that came out of captivity to Jerusalem, were forty-two thousand four hundred and sixty-two.

CHAP. II.

How upon the death of Cyrus, the Jews were hindered in building of the temple by the Cutheans, and the neighbouring governors: and how Cambyses entirely forbade the Jews to do any such thing.

§ 1. WHEN the foundations of the temple were laying, and when the Jews were very zealous about building it, the neigh-

* Of the true number of golden and silver vessels here and elsewhere belonging to the temple of Solomon, see my Description of Temples, chap. xiii.

bouring nations, and especially the Cutheans, whom Shalmanezer, king of Assyria, had brought out of Persia and Media, and had planted in Samaria, when he carried the people of Israel captives, besought the governors, and those that had the care of such affairs, that they would interrupt the Jews, both in the rebuilding of their city, and in the building of their temple. Now as these men were corrupted by them with money, they sold the Cutheans their interest for rendering this building a slow and a careless work, for Cyrus, who was busy about other wars, knew nothing of all this; and it so happened, that when he had led his army against the * Massagetæ he ended his life. But when Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, had taken the kingdom, the governor in Syria, and Phenicia, and in the countries of Ammon, and Moab, and Samaria, wrote an epistle to Cambyses; whose contents were as follows: "To our Lord "Cambyses; we thy servants, Rathumas the historiographer, "and Semellius the scribe, and the rest that are thy judges in "Syria and Phenicia, sendeth greeting: It is fit, O King, "that thou shouldest know that these Jews which were carried to Babylon, are come into our country, and are building that rebellious and wicked city, and its market places, "and setting up its walls, and raising up the temple: know "therefore, that when these things are finished, they will not "be willing to pay tribute, nor will they submit to thy commands, but will resist kings, and will choose rather to rule over "others, than be ruled over themselves. We therefore thought "it proper to write to thee, O king, while the works about "the temple are going on so fast, and not to overlook this "matter, that thou mayest search into the books of thy fathers, "for thou wilt find in them, that the Jews have been rebels, "and enemies to kings, as hath their city been also, which, "for that reason, hath been till now laid waste. We thought "proper also to inform thee of this matter, because thou mayest otherwise perhaps be ignorant of it, that if this city be

* Josephus here follows Herodotus, and those that related how Cyrus made war with the Scythians and Massagets, near the Caspian sea, and perished in it; while Xenophon's account, which appears never to have been seen by Josephus, that Cyrus died in peace, in his own country of Persia, is attested to by the writers of the affairs of Alexander the Great, when they agree that he found Cyrus's sepulchre at Pasargadæ, near Persepolis. This account of Xenophon's is also confirmed by the circumstances of Cambyses, upon his succession to Cyrus, who instead of a war to avenge his father's death upon the Scythian's and Massagets, and to prevent those nations from overruning his northern provinces, which would have been the natural consequence of his father's ill success and death there, went immediately to an Egyptian war, long ago begun by Cyrus, according to Xenophon, page 644, and conquered that kingdom, nor is there, that I ever heard of the least mention in the reign of Cambyses of any war against the Scythians and Massagets that he was ever engaged in all his life.

"once inhabited, and be entirely encompassed with walls, thou "wilt be excluded from thy passage to Celesyria and Phenicia."

2. When Cambyses had read the epistle, being naturally wicked, he was irritated at what they told him; and wrote back to them as follows: "Cambyses the king, to Rathumus the "historiographer, to Beeltethmus, to Semellius the scribe, "and the rest that are in commission, and dwelling in Samaria "and Phenicia, after this manner; I have read the epistle that "was sent from you; and I gave order that the books of my "forefathers should be searched into, and it is there found, "that this city hath always been an enemy to kings, and its in-"habitants have raised seditions and wars. We also are sensi-"ble that their kings have been powerful, and tyrannical, and "have exacted tribute of Celesyria and Phenicia: Wherefore I "give order that the Jews shall not be permitted to build that "city, lest such mischief as they used to bring upon kings be "greatly augmented." When this epistle was read, Rathumus, and Semellius the scribe, and their associates, got suddenly on horseback, and made haste to Jerusalem; they also brought a great company with them, and forbade the Jews to build the city, and the temple. Accordingly, these works were hindered from going on till the second year of the reign of Darius; for nine years more; for Cambyses reigned six years, and within that time overthrew Egypt, and when he was come back, he died at Damascus.

CHAP. III.

How, after the death of Cambyses, and the slaughter of the Magi, but under the reign of Darius, Zorobabel was superior to the rest in the solution of problems, and thereby obtained this favour of the king, that the temple should be built.

§ 1. AFTER the slaughter of the Magi, who, upon the death of Cambyses, attained the government of the Persians for a year, those families which were called the seven families of the Persians, appointed Darius, the son of Hystaspes, to be their king. Now he, while he was a private man, had made a vow to God, that if he came to be king, he would send all the vessels of God that were in Babylon to the temple at Jerusalem. Now it so fell out, that about this time Zorobabel, who had been made governor of the Jews that had been in captivity, came to Darius, from Jerusalem: for there had been an old friendship between him and the king. He was also, with two others, thought worthy to be guards of the king's body; and obtained that honour which he hoped for.

2. Now in the first year of the king's reign, Darius feasted

those that were about him, and those born in his house, with the rulers of the Medes, and princes of the Persians, and the toparchs of India and Ethiopia, and the generals of the armies of his hundred and twenty-seven provinces: But when they had eaten and drank to satiety, and abundantly, they every one departed to go to bed at their own houses, and Darius the king went to bed; but after he had rested a little part of the night, he awaked, and not being able to sleep any more he fell into conversation with the three guards of his body, and promised, that to him who should make an oration, about points that he should inquire of, such as should be most agreeable to truth, and to the dictates of wisdom, he would grant it as a reward of his victory, to put on a purple garment, and to drink in cups of gold, and to sleep upon gold, and to have a chariot with bridles of gold, and to sit next to himself, on account of his wisdom; and, says he, he shall be called my cousin. Now when he had promised to give them these gifts, he asked the first of them, Whether wine was not the strongest? The second, Whether kings were not such? And the third, Whether women were not such? Or whether truth was not the strongest of all? When he had proposed that they should make their inquiries about those problems, he went to rest; but in the morning he sent for his great men, his princes, and toparchs of Persia and Media, and set himself down in the place where he used to give audience, and bid each of the guards of his body to declare what they thought proper concerning the proposed questions, in the hearing of them all.

3. Accordingly, the first of them began to speak of the strength of wine, and demonstrated it thus: "When, said he, I am to "give my opinion of wine, O you men, I find that it exceeds "every thing, by the following indications: It deceives the "minds of those that drink it, and reduces that of the king to "the same state with that of the orphan, and he who stands in "need of a tutor, and erects that of the slave to the boldness of "him that is free, and that of the needy becomes like that of "the rich man, for it changes and renews the souls of men "when it gets into them, and it quenches the sorrow of those "that are under calamities, and makes men forget the debts "they owe to others, and makes them think themselves to be "of all men the richest; it makes them talk of no small things, "but of talents, and such other names as become wealthy men "only; nay more, it makes them insensible of their command-"ers, and of their kings, and takes away the remembrance of "their friends and companions, for it arms men even against "those that are dearest to them, and makes them appear the "greatest strangers to them, and when they are become sober,

" and they have slept out their wine in the night, they arise " without knowing any thing they have done in their cups; I " take these for signs of power, and by them discover that " wine is the strongest, and most insuperable of all things."

4. As soon as the first had given the fore-mentioned demonstrations of the strength of wine, he left off; and the next to him began to speak about the strength of a king, and demonstrated that it was the strongest of all, and more powerful than any thing else that appears to have any force or wisdom. He began his demonstration after the following manner; and said " They " are men who govern all things; they force the earth and the " sea to become profitable to them in what they desire, and over " these men do kings rule, and over them they have authority. " Now those men who rule over that animal which is of all the " strongest and most powerful, must needs deserve to be esteem- " ed insuperable in power and force; for example, when these " kings command their subjects to make war, and undergo " dangers, they are hearkened to, and when they send them a- " gainst their enemies, their power is so great that they are obey- " ed. They command men to level mountains, and to pull down " walls and towers; nay, when they are commanded to be kill- " ed and to kill, they submit to it, that they may not appear to " transgress the king's commands, and when they have con- " quered, they bring what they have gained in the war to the " king. Those also who are not soldiers, but cultivate the " ground, and plough it, and when, after they have endured the " labour, and all the inconveniences of such works of husbandry, " they have reaped and gathered in their fruits, they bring tri- " butes to the king. And whatsoever it is which the king says " or commands, it is done of necessity, and that without any de- " lay, while he in the mean time is satiated with all sorts of " food and pleasures, and sleeps in quiet. He is guarded by " such as watch, and such as are, as it were fixed down to the " place through fear, for no one dares leave him, even when he " is asleep, nor does any one go away and take care of his own " affairs, but he esteems this one thing the only work of neces- " sity, to guard the king, and accordingly to this he wholly " addicts himself. How then can it be otherwise, but that it " must appear that the king exceeds all in strength, while so " great a multitude obeys his injunctions?"

5. Now when this man had held his peace, the third of them, who was Zorobabel, began to instruct them about women, and about truth, who said thus: " Wine is strong, as is the king " also, whom all men obey, but women are superior to them in " power, for it was a woman that brought the king into the " world; and for those that plant the vines and make the wine, " they are women who bear them, and bring them up: nor in-

" deed is there any thing which we do not receive from them: " for these women weave garments for us, and our household " affairs are by their means taken care of, and preserved in " safety; nor can we live separate from women. And when " we have gotten a great deal of gold and silver, and any other " thing that is of great value, and deserving regard, and see a " beautiful woman, we leave all these things, and with open " mouth fix our eyes upon her countenance, and are willing to " forsake what we have, that we may enjoy her beauty, and " procure it to ourselves. We also leave father, and mother, " and the earth that nourishes us, and frequently forget our " dearest friends, for the sake of women; nay, we are so hardy " as to lay down our lives for them. But what will chiefly " make you take notice of the strength of women is this that " follows: Do not we take pains, and endure a great deal of trou- " ble, and that both by land and sea, and when we have pro- " cured somewhat as the fruit of our labours, do not we bring " them to the women, as to our mistresses; and bestow them " upon them? nay, I once saw the king, who is lord of so " many people, smitten on the face by Apame, the daughter of " Rabsases Themasius, his concubine, and his diadem taken " away from him, and put upon her own head, while he bore " it patiently; and when she smiled he smiled, and when she " was angry he was sad; and according to the change of her " passions, he flattered his wife, and drew her to reconciliation " by the great humiliation of himself to her, if at any time he " saw her displeased at him."

6. And when the princes and rulers looked one upon another, he began to speak about truth; and he said, " I have already " demonstrated how powerful women are; but both these wo- " men themselves, and the king himself, are weaker than truth; " for although the earth be large, and the heaven high, and " the course of the sun swift, yet are all these moved according " to the will of God, who is true and righteous, for which cause " we also ought to esteem truth to be strongest of all things, " and that what is unrighteous is of no force against it. More- " over, all things else that have any strength are mortal, and " short-lived, but truth is a thing that is immortal, and eternal. " It affords us not indeed such a beauty as will wither away by " time, nor such riches as may be taken away by fortune, but " righteous rules and laws. It distinguishes them from injustice, " and puts what is unrighteous to rebuke."*

* The reader is to note, that although the speeches or papers of these three of the king's guard are much the same, in the third book of Esdras, chap. iii. and iv. as they are here in Josephus, yet that the introduction of them is entirely different, while in our Esdras the whole is related as the contrivance of the

7. So when Zorobabel had left off his discourse about truth, and the multitude had cried out aloud that he had spoken the most wisely, and that it was truth alone that had immutable strength, and such as never would wax old, the king commanded, that he should ask for somewhat over and above what he had promised, for that he would give it him because of his wisdom, and that prudence wherein he exceeded the rest; and thou shalt sit with me, said the king, and shalt be called my cousin. When he had said this, Zorobabel put him in mind of the vow he had made in case he should ever have the kingdom. Now this vow was, "to rebuild Jerusalem, and to build therein the temple of "God; as also to restore the vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had "pillaged, and carried to Babylon." And this, said he, is that request which thou now permittest me to make, on account that I have been judged to be wise, and understanding.

8. So the king was pleased with what he had said, and arose and kissed him; and wrote to the toparchs, and governors, and enjoined them to conduct Zorobabel and those that were going with him to build the temple. He also sent letters to those rulers that were in Syria and Phenicia to cut down and carry cedar trees from Lebanon to Jerusalem, and to assist him in building the city. He also wrote to them, that all the captives who should go to Judea should be free; and he prohibited his deputies and governors to lay any king's taxes upon the Jews; he also permitted, that they should have all that land which they could possess themselves of without tributes. He also enjoined the Idumeans and Samaritans, and the inhabitants of Celesyria, to restore villages which they had taken from the Jews; and that besides all this, fifty talents should be given them for the building of the temple. He also permitted them to offer their appointed sacrifices, and that whatsoever the high priest and the priests wanted, and those sacred garments wherein they used to worship God,

three of the king's guard themselves: and even the mighty rewards are spoken of as proposed by themselves, and the speeches are related to have been delivered by themselves to the king in writing, while all is contrary in Josephus. I need not say whose account is the most probable, the matters speak for themselves; and there can be no doubt but Josephus's history is here to be very much preferred before the other. Nor indeed does it seem to me at all unlikely, that the whole was a contrivance of king Darius's own, in order to be decently and inoffensively put in mind by Zorobabel, of fulfilling his old vow for the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the temple, and the restoration of the worship of the ONE TRUE GOD there. Nor does the full meaning of Zorobabel, when he cries out, 3 Esdras iv. 40. "Blessed be the God of truth;" and here "God is true and righteous," or even of all the people, 3 Esdras iv. 41. "Great is truth, and mighty above all things," seem to me much different from this, "There is but ONE TRUE GOD," the God of Israel. To which doctrine, such as Cyrus, and Darius, &c. the Jews' great patrons, seem not to have been very averse, though the entire idolatry of their kingdoms made them generally conceal it.

should be made at his own charges; and that the musical instruments which the Levites used in singing hymns to God should be given them. Moreover he charged them, that portions of land should be given to those that guarded the city and the temple, as also a determinate sum of money every year for their maintenance: and withal he sent the vessels. And all that Cyrus intended to do before him relating to the restoration of Jerusalem, Darius also ordained should be done accordingly.

9. Now when Zorobabel had obtained these grants from the king, he went out of the palace, and looking up to heaven, he began to return thanks to God for the wisdom he had given him, and the victory he had gained thereby, even in the presence of Darius himself; for, said he, "I had not been thought worthy "of these advantages, O Lord, unless thou hadst been favour-"able to me." When therefore he had returned these thanks to God for the present circumstances he was in, and had prayed to him to afford him the like favour for the time to come, he came to Babylon, and brought the good news to his countrymen of what grants he had procured for them from the king; who, when they heard the same, gave thanks also to God that he restored the land of their forefathers to them again: So they betook themselves to drinking, and eating, and for seven days they continued feasting, and kept a festival, for the rebuilding and restoration of their country: after this they chose themselves rulers, who should go up to Jerusalem, out of the tribes of their forefathers, with their wives and children, and cattle, who travelled to Jerusalem with joy and pleasure, under the conduct of those whom Darius sent along with them, and making a noise with songs, and pipes, and cymbals. The rest of the Jewish multitude also besides accompanied them with rejoicing.

10. And thus did these men go, a certain and determinate number out of every family, though I do not think it proper to recite particularly the name of those families, that I may not take off the mind of my readers from the connexion of the historical facts, and make it hard for them to follow the coherence of my narrations; but the sum of those that went up, about the age of twelve years, of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, was * four hundred sixty-two myriads and eight thousand; the Levites were seventy-four: the number of the women and children mixed together was forty thousand seven hundred and forty-two; and besides these, there were singers of the Levites one hundred and

* This strange reading in Josephus's present copies of 4,000,000 instead of 40,000, is one of the grossest errors that is in them, and ought to be corrected from Ezra ii. 64. 1 Esd. v. 40. and Neh. vii. 66. who all agree the general sum was but about 42,360. It is also very plain, that Josephus thought, that when Esdras afterwards brought up another company out of Babylon and Persia, in the

twenty-eight, and porters one hundred and ten; and of the sacred ministers three hundred and ninety-two; there were also others besides these, who said they were of the Israelites, but were not able to shew their genealogies, six hundred and sixty-two; some there were also, who were expelled out of the number and honour of the priests, as having married wives whose genealogies they could not produce, nor were they found in the genealogies of the Levites and priests: they were about five hundred and twenty-five; the multitude also of servants that followed those that went up out of Jerusalem were seven thousand three hundred and thirty-seven; the singing men and singing women were two hundred and forty-five; the camels were four hundred and thirty-five; the beasts used to the yoke were five thousand five hundred and twenty-five; and the governors of all this multitude thus numbered were Zorobabel, the son of Salathiel, of the posterity of David, and of the tribe of Judah, and Jeshua, the son of Josedek the high priest; and besides these there were Mordecai and Serebeus, who were distinguished from the multitude, and were rulers, who also contributed an hundred pounds of gold, and five thousand of silver. By this means therefore the priests and the Levites, and a certain part of the entire people of the Jews that were in Babylon, came and dwelt in Jerusalem, but the rest of the multitude returned every one to their own countries.

CHAP. IV.

How the temple was built, while the Cutheans endeavoured in vain to obstruct the work.

§ 1. Now in the seventh month, after they were departed out of Babylon, both Jeshua the high priest, and Zorobabel the governor, sent messengers every way round about: and gathered those that were in the country together to Jerusalem universally, who came very gladly thither. He then built the altar on the same place it had formerly been built, that they might offer the appointed sacrifices upon it to God, according to the laws of Moses. But while they did this, they did not please the neighbouring nations, who all of them bare an ill-will to them. They

days of Xerxes they were also, as well as these of the two tribes, and out of them only, and were in all no more than a *seed* and a *remnant*, while an *immense number* of the ten tribes never returned, but as he believed, continued then beyond Euphrates, ch. v. § 2, 3. Of which multitude, the Jews beyond Euphrates, he speaks frequently elsewhere; though, by the way he never takes them to be idolaters, but looks on them still as observers of the laws of Moses. The *certain part* of the people that now came up from Babylon, at the end of this chapter, imply the same smaller number of Jews that now came up, and will no way agree with the 4,000,000.

also celebrated the feast of tabernacles at that time, as the legislator had ordained concerning it, and after they offered sacrifices, and what were called the daily sacrifices, and the oblations proper for the Sabbaths, and for all the holy festivals. Those also that had made vows performed them, and offered their sacrifices, from the first day of the seventh month. They also began to build the temple, and gave a great deal of money to the masons and to the carpenters, and what was necessary for the maintenance of the workmen. The Sidonians also were very willing and ready to bring the cedar trees from Libanus, to bind them together, and to make an united float of them, and to bring them to the port of Joppa, for that was what Cyrus had commanded at first, and what was now done at the command of Darius.

2. In the second year of their coming to Jerusalem, as the Jews were there in the second month, the building of the temple went on apace; and when they had laid its foundations on the first day of the second month, of that second year, they set, as overseers of the work, such Levites, as were full twenty years old; and Jeshua and his sons and brethren, and Codmiel the brother of Judas, the son of Aminidab, with his sons and the temple, by the great diligence of those that had the care of it, was finished sooner than any one would have expected. And when the temple was finished, the priests, adorned with their accustomed garments, stood with their trumpets, while the Levites, and the sons of Asaph, stood and sung hymns to God, according as David first of all appointed them to bless God. Now the priests and Levites, and the elder part of the families, recollecting with themselves how much greater and more sumptuous the old temple had been, seeing that now made, how much inferior it was, on account of their poverty, to that which had been built of old, considered with themselves how much their happy state was sunk below what it had been of old, as well as their temple. Hereupon they were disconsolate and not able to contain their grief, and proceeded so far as to lament and shed tears on those accounts; but the people in general werecontented with their present condition, and because they were allowed to build them a temple, they desired no more, and neither regarded nor remembered, nor indeed at all tormented themselves with the comparison of that and the former temple, as if this were below their expectations; but the wailing of the old men, and of the priests, on account of the deficiency of this temple, in their opinion, if compared with that which had been demolished, overcame the sounds of the trumpets and the rejoicing of the people.

3. But when the Samaritans, who were still enemies to the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, heard the sound of the trumpets, they came running together, and desired to know what was the

occasion of this tumult? and when they perceived that is was from the Jews, who had been carried captive to Babylon, and were rebuilding their temple, they came to Zorobabel and to Jeshua, and to the heads of the families, and desired that they would give them leave to build the temple with them, and to be partners with them in building it; for they said, " We worship your God, " and especially pray to him, and are desirous of your religious " settlement, and this ever since Shalmaneser, the king of Assy- " ria, transplanted us out of Cuthah and Media to this place." When they said thus, Zorobabel and Jeshua the high priest, and the heads of the families of the Israelites, replied to them, that " it was impossible for them to permit them to be their partners, " whilst they [only] had been appointed to build that temple at " first by Cyrus, and now by Darius, although it was indeed " lawful for them to come and worship there if they pleased, " and that they could allow them nothing but that in common " with them, which was common to them with all other men, " to come to their temple and worship God there."

4. When the Cutheans heard this, for the Samaritans have that appellation, they had indignation at it, and persuaded the nations of Syria to desire of the governors, in the same manner as they had done formerly in the days of Cyrus, and again in the days of Cambyses afterwards, to put a stop to the building of the temple, and to endeavour to delay and protract the Jews in their zeal about it. Now at this time Sisinnes, the governor of Syria and Phenicia, and Sathrabuzanes, with certain others, came up to Jerusalem, and asked the rulers of the Jews, " By " whose grant it was that they built the temple in this manner, " since it was more like to a citadel than a temple? and for what " reason it was that they built cloisters and walls, and those " strong ones too, about the city?" To which Zorobabel and Jeshua the high priest replied, " that they were the servants of " God Almighty: that this temple was built for him by a king " of theirs, that lived in great prosperity, and one that exceeded " all men in virtue, and that it continued a long time, but that " because of their fathers' impiety towards God, Nebuchadnez- " zar, king of the Babylonians, and of the Chaldeans, took their " city by force, and destroyed it and pillaged the temple, and " burnt it down, and transplanted the people whom he had " made captives, and removed them to Babylon: that Cyrus, " who after him was king of Babylonia and Persia, wrote to " them to build the temple, and committed the gifts and ves- " sels, and whatsoever Nebuchadnezzar had carried out of it, " to Zorobabel and Mithridates the treasurer; and gave order " to have them carried to Jerusalem, and to have them restored " to their own temple, when it was built; for he had sent to

"them to have done speedily, and commanded Sanabassar to "go up to Jerusalem, and to take care of the building of the "temple; who, upon receiving that epistle from Cyrus, came, "and immediately laid its foundations: and although it hath "been in building from that time to this, it hath not yet been "finished, by reason of the malignity of our enemies. If there-"fore you have a mind, and think it proper, write this account "to Darius, that when he hath consulted the records of the "kings, he may find that we have told you nothing that is false "about this matter."

5. When Zorobabel and the high-priest had made this answer, Sisinnes, and those that were with him, did not resolve to hinder the building, until they had informed king Darius of all this. So they immediately wrote to him about these affairs; but as the Jews were now under terror, and afraid lest the king should change his resolutions as to the building of Jerusalem, and of the temple, there were two prophets at that time among them, Haggai and Zechariah, who encouraged them, and bid them be of good cheer, and to suspect no discouragement from the Persians, for that God foretold this to them. So, in dependance on those prophets, they applied themselves earnestly to building, and did not intermit one day.

6. Now Darius, when the Samaritans had written to him, and in their epistle had accused the Jews, how they fortified the city, and built the temple more like to a citadel than to a temple; and said, that their doings were not expedient for the king's affairs; and besides, they shewed the epistle of Cambyses, wherein he forbade them to build the temple; and when Darius thereby understood that the restoration of Jerusalem was not expedient for his affairs, and when he had read the epistle that was brought him from Sisinnes, and those that were with him, he gave order that what concerned these matters should be sought for among the royal records. Whereupon a book was found at Ecbatana, in the tower that was in Media, wherein was written as follows: Cyrus the king, in the first year of his reign, "commanded that the temple should be built in Jerusalem; "and the altar in height threescore cubits, and its breadth of "the same, with three edifices of polished stone, and one edifice "of stone of their own country: and he ordained that the expenses "of it should be paid out of the king's revenue. He also com-"manded that the vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had pillaged "[out of the temple], and had carried to Babylon, should be "restored to the people of Jerusalem, and that the care of these "things should belong to Sanabassar the governor and president "of Syria and Phenicia, and to his associates, that they may "not meddle with that place, but may permit the servants of

" God, the Jews and their rulers, to build the temple. He al-
" so ordained that they should assist them in the work: and that
" they should pay to the Jews, out of the tribute of the coun-
" try where they were governors, on account of the sacrifices,
" bulls and rams, and lambs and kids of the goats, and fine flour
" and oil, and wine, and all other things that the priests should
" suggest to them; and that they should pray for the preserva-
" tion of the king, and of the Persians, and that for such as
" transgressed any of these orders thus sent to them, he com-
" manded that they should be caught, and hung upon a cross,
" and their substance confiscated to the king's use. He also
" prayed to God against them, that if any one attempted to
" hinder the building of the temple, God would strike him
" dead, and thereby restrain his wickedness."

7. When Darius had found this book among the records of Cyrus, he wrote an answer to Sisinnes and his associates, whose contents were these: " King Darius to Sisinnes the governor, " and to Sathrabuzanes, sendeth greeting: Having found a copy " of this epistle among the records of Cyrus, I have sent it you; " and I will that all things be done as is therein written. Fare- " ye well." So when Sisinnes, and those that were with him, understood the intention of the king, they resolved to follow his directions entirely for the time to come. So they forwarded the sacred works, and assisted the elders of the Jews, and the princes of the sanhedrim, and the structure of the temple was with great diligence brought to a conclusion, by the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah, according to God's commands, and by the injunctions of Cyrus and Darius the kings. Now the temple was built in seven years' time: And in the ninth year of the reign of Darius, on the twenty-third day of the twelfth month, which is by us called *Adar*, but by the Macedonians *Dystrus*, the priests and Levites, and the other multitude of the Israelites offered sacrifices, as the renovation of their former prosperity after their captivity, and because they had now the temple rebuilt, an hundred bulls, two hundred rams, four hundred lambs, and twelve kids of the goats, according to the number of their tribes, (for so many are the tribes of the Israelites,) and this last for the sins of every tribe. The priest also and the Levites set the porters at every gate, according to the laws of Moses. The Jews also built the cloisters of the inner temple, that were round about the temple itself.

8. And as the feast of unleavened bread was at hand, in the first month, which, according to the Macedonians, is called *Xanthicus*, but according to us *Nisan*, all the people ran together out of the villages to the city, and celebrated the festival, having purified themselves, with their wives and children, according

to the law of their country; and they offered the sacrifice which was called the *Passover*, on the fourteenth day of the same month, and feasted seven days, and spared for no cost, but offered whole burnt-offerings to God, and performed sacrifices of thanksgiving, because God had led them again to the land of their fathers, and to the laws thereto belonging, and had rendered the mind of the king of Persia favourable to them. So these men offered the largest sacrifices on these accounts, and used great magnificence in the worship of God, and dwelt in Jerusalem, and made use of a form of government that was aristocratical, but mixed with an oligarchy, for the high priests were at the head of their affairs, until the posterity of the Asamoneans set up kingly government; for before their captivity, and the dissolution of their polity, they at first had kingly government from Saul and David, for five hundred thirty-two years, six months, and ten days; but before those kings, such rulers governed them as were called *Judges and Monarchs*. Under this form of government they continued for more than five hundred years, after the death of Moses, and of Joshua their commander. And this is the account I had to give of the Jews who had been carried into captivity, but were delivered from it in the times of Cyrus and Darius.

9. * But the Samaritans: being evil and enviously disposed to the Jews, wrought them many mischiefs, by reliance on their riches, and by their pretence that they were allied to the Persians, on account that thence they came; and whatsoever it was that they were enjoined to pay the Jews by the king's order out of their tributes, for the sacrifices, they would not pay it. They had also the governors favourable to them and assisting them for that purpose; nor did they spare to hurt them, either by themselves, or by others; as far as they were able. So the Jews determined to send an embassage to king Darius, in favour of the people of Jerusalem, and in order to accuse the Samaritans. The ambassadors were Zorobabel, and four others of the rulers: and as soon as the king knew from the ambassadors the accusations and complaints they brought against the Samaritans, he gave them an epistle to be carried to the governors and council of Samaria. The contents of which epistle were these: "King "Darius to Tanganas and Sambabas, the governors of the Sa-"maritans, to Sadraces and Bobelo, and the rest of their fellow-"servants that are in Samaria; Zorobabel, Ananias, and Mor-"decai, the ambassadors of the Jews, complain of you, that you "obstruct them in the building of the temple, and do not sup-

* The history contained in this section is entirely wanting in all our other copies both of Ezra and Esdras.

"ply them with the expenses which I commanded you to do "for the offering their sacrifices. My will therefore is this, "that upon the reading of this epistle, you supply them with "whatsoever they want for their sacrifices, and that out of the "royal treasury, of the tributes of Samaria, as the priest shall "desire, that they may not leave off offering their daily sacri-"fices, nor praying to God for me and the Persians." And these were the contents of that epistle.

CHAP. V.

How Xerxes, the son of Darius, was well disposed to the Jews: As also concerning Esdras and Nehemiah.

§ 1. Upon the death of Darius, Xerxes his son took the kingdom, who, as he inherited his father's kingdom, so did he inherit his piety towards God, and honour of him; for he did all things suitably to his father relating to divine worship, and he was exceeding friendly to the Jews. Now about this time, a son of Jeshua, whose name was *Joacim*, was the high priest. Moreover, there was now in Babylon a righteous man, and one that enjoyed a great reputation among the multitude; He was the principal priest of the people, and his name was *Esdras*. He was very skilful in the laws of Moses, and was well acquainted with king Xerxes. He had determined to go up to Jerusalem, and to take with him some of those Jews that were in Babylon, and he desired that the king would give him an epistle to the governers of Syria, by which they might know who he was. Accordingly, the king wrote the following epistle to those governors: "Xerxes, king of kings, to Ezra the priest, and reader of "the divine law, greeting: I think it agreeable to that love which "I bear to mankind, to permit those of the Jewish nation that "are so disposed, as well as those of the priests and Levites "that are in our kingdom, to go together to Jerusalem. Ac-"cordingly, I have given command for that purpose; and let "every one that hath a mind go, according as it hath seemed "good to me, and to my seven counsellors, and this in order to "their review of the affairs of Judea, to see whether they be "agreeable to the law of God. Let them also take with them "those presents which I and my friends have vowed, with "all that silver and gold that is found in the country of the "Babylonians, as dedicated to God, and let all this be carried "to Jerusalem, to God for sacrifices. Let it also be lawful for "thee and thy brethren to make as many vessels of silver "and gold as thou pleasest. Thou shalt also dedicate those "holy vessels which have been given thee, and as many more

"as thou hast a mind to make, and shall take the expenses out "of the king's treasury. I have moreover written to the trea- "surers of Syria and Phenicia, that they take care of those af- "fairs that Esdras the priest, and reader of the laws of God, "is sent about. And that God may not be at all angry with "me, or with my children, I grant all that is necessary for sa- "crifices to God, according to the law, as far as an hundred "cori of wheat. And I enjoin you not to lay any treacherous "imposition, or any tributes, upon their priests or Levites, or "sacred singers, or porters, or sacred servants, or scribes of the "temple. And do thou, O Esdras, appoint Judges according to "the wisdom [given thee] of God, and those such as understand "the law, that they may judge in all Syria and Phenicia; and "do thou instruct those also which are ignorant of it, that if "any one of thy countrymen transgress the law of God, or that "of the king, he may be punished, as not transgressing it out "of ignorance, but as one that knows it indeed, but boldly de- "spises and contemns it; and such may be punished by death, "or by paying fines. Farewell."

2. When Esdras had received this epistle, he was very joyful, and began to worship God, and confessed that he had been the cause of the king's great favour to him, and that for the same reason he gave all the thanks to God. So he read the epistle at Babylon to those Jews that were there, but he kept the epistle itself, and sent a copy of it to all those of his own nation that were in Media. And when these Jews had understood what piety the king had towards God, and what kindness he had for Esdras, they were all greatly pleased; nay, many of them took their effects with them, and came to Babylon, as very desirous of going down to Jerusalem; but then the entire body of the people of Israel remained in that country, wherefore there are but two tribes in Asia and Europe subject to the Romans, while the ten tribes are beyond Euphrates till now, and are an immense multitude, and not to be estimated by numbers, Now there came a great number of priests, and Levites, and porters, and sacred singers, and sacred servants, to Esdras. So he gathered those that were in the captivity together beyond Euphrates, and stayed there three days, and ordained a fast for them, that they might make their prayers to God for their preservation, that they might suffer no misfortunes by the way, either from their enemies, or from any other ill accident; for Esdras had said before-hand, that he had told the king how God would preserve them, and so he had not thought fit to request that he would send horsemen to conduct them. So when they had finished their prayers, they removed from Euphrates on the twelfth day of the first month of the seventh year of the reign of Xerxes, and they came to Jerusalem on the fifth

month of the same year. Now Esdras presented the sacred money, of the treasurers, who were of the family of the priests, of silver six hundred and fifty talents, vessels of silver one hundred talents, vessels of gold, twenty talents, vessels of brass, that was * more precious than gold, twelve talents by weight, for these presents had been made by the king and his counsellors, and by all the Israelites that stayed at Babylon. So when Esdras had delivered these things to the priests, he gave to God, as the appointed sacrifices of whole burnt-offerings, twelve bulls on account of the common preservation of the people, ninety rams, and seventy-two lambs, twelve kids of the goats, for the remission of sins. He also delivered the king's epistle to the king's officers, and to the governors of Celesyria and Phenicia; and as they were under a necessity of doing what was enjoined by him, they honoured our nation, and were assistant to them in all their necessities.

3. Now these things were truly done under the conduct of Esdras, and he succeeded in them, because God esteemed him worthy of the success of his conduct, on account of his goodness and righteousness. But some time afterward there came some persons to him, and brought an accusation against certain of the multitude, and of the priests and Levites, who had transgressed their settlement, and dissolved the laws of their country, by marrying strange wives, and had brought the family of the priests into confusion. These persons desired him to support the laws, lest God should take up a general anger against them all, and reduce them to a calamitous condition again. Hereupon he rent his garment immediately out of grief, and pulled off the hair off his head and beard, and cast himself upon the ground, because this crime had reached the principal men among the people, and considering that if he should enjoin them to cast out their wives, and the children they had by them, he should not be hearkened to, he continued lying upon the ground. However, all the better sort came running to him, who also themselves wept, and partook of the grief he was under for what had been done. So Esdras rose up from the ground, and stretched out his hands towards heaven, and said, that "he was ashamed to look towards "it, because of the sins which the people had committed, while "they had cast out of their memories what their fathers had "undergone on account of their wickedness: and he besought "God, who had saved a seed and a remnant out of the calamity "and captivity they had been in, and had restored them again to "Jerusalem and to their own land, and had obliged the kings of

* Dr. Hudson takes notice here, that this kind of brass or copper, or rather mixture of gold and brass or copper, was called *aurichalcum*, and that this was of old esteemed the most precious of all metals.

"Persia to have compassion on them, that he would also for-"give them their sins they had now committed, which, though "they deserved death, yet it was agreeable to the mercy of "God, to remit even to these the punishment due to them."

4. After Esdras had said this, he left off praying; and when all those that came to him with their wives and children were under lamentation, one whose name was Jechonias a principal man in Jerusalem, came to him, and said, that they had sinned in marrying strange wives; and he persuaded him to adjure them all to cast those wives out, and the children born of them, and that those should be punished who would not obey the law. So Esdras hearkened to this advice, and made the heads of the priests, and of the Levites, and of the Israelites, swear that they would put away those wives and children; according to the advice of Jechonias. And when he had received their oaths, he went in haste out of the temple into the chamber of Johanan, the son of Eliasib, and as he had hitherto tasted nothing at all for grief, so he abode there that day. And when proclamation was made, that all those of the captivity should gather themselves together to Jerusalem, and those that did not meet there in two or three days should be banished from the multitude, and that their substance should be appropriated to the uses of the temple, according to the sentence of the elders, those that were of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin came together in three days, viz. on the twentieth day of the ninth month, which according to the Hebrews, is called *Tebeth*, and according to the Macedonians, *Apelleus*. Now, as they were sitting in the upper room of the temple, where the elders also were present, but were uneasy because of the cold, Esdras stood up, and accused them, and told them that they had sinned in marrying wives that were not of their own nation; but that now they would do a thing both pleasing to God, and advantageous to themselves, if they would put those wives away. Accordingly they all cried out, that "they would "do so. That however the multitude was great, and that the "season of the year was winter, and that this work would re-"quire more than one or two days. Let their rulers, therefore, "[said they], and those that have married strange wives, come "hither at a proper time, while the elders of every place, that "are in common to estimate the number of those that have thus "married, are to be there also." Accordingly, this was resolved on by them, and they began the inquiry after those that had married strange wives on the first day of the next month, and continued the inquiry to the first day of the tenth month, and found a great many of the posterity of Jeshua the high priest, and of the priests, and Levites, and Israelites, who had * a greater

* This procedure of Ezra, and of the best part of the Jewish nation, after their return from the Babylonish captivity, of reducing the Jewish marriages once for all,

regard to the observation of the law than to their natural affection, and immediately cast out their wives, and the children which were born of them. And in order to appease God, they offered sacrifices, and slew rams, as oblations to him; but it does not seem to me to be necessary to set down the names of these men. So when Esdras had reformed this sin about the marriages of the forementioned persons, he reduced that practice to purity, so that it continued in that state for the time to come.

5. Now when they kept the * feast of tabernacles in the seventh month, and almost all the people were come together to it, they went up to the open part of the temple, to the gate which looked eastward, and desired of Esdras that the laws of Moses might be read to them. Accordingly he stood in the midst of the multitude and read them; and this he did from morning to noon. Now, by hearing the laws read to them, they were instructed to be righteous men for the present and for the future; but as for their past offences, they were displeased at themselves, and proceeded to shed tears on their account, as considering with themselves, that if they had kept the law, they had endured none of these miseries which they had experienced. But when Esdras saw them in that disposition, he bade them go home and not weep, for that it was a festival, and that they ought not to weep thereon, for that it was † not lawful so to do. He exhorted them rather to proceed immediately to feasting, and to do what was suitable to a feast, and what was agreeable to a day of joy, but to let their repentance and sorrow for their former sins be a security and a guard to them, that they fall no more into the like offences. So upon Esdra's exhortation they began to feast; and when they had so done for eight days, in their tabernacles, they departed to their own homes, singing hymns to God, and returning thanks to Esdras, for his reformation of what corruptions had been introduced into their settlement. So it came to pass, that after he had obtained this reputation among the

to the strictness of the law of Moses, without any regard to the greatness of those who had broken it, and without regard to that natural affection or compassion for their heathen wives, and their children by them, which made it so hard for Ezra to correct it, deserves greatly to be observed and imitated in all attempts for reformation among Christians, the contrary conduct having ever been the bane of true religion, both among Jews and Christians, while political views, or human passions, or prudential motives, are suffered to take place instead of the divine laws, and so the blessing of God is forfeited, and the church still suffered to continue corrupt from one generation to another. See chap. viii. § 2.

* This Jewish feast of tabernacles was imitated in several heathen solemnities, as Spanheim here observes and proves. He also farther observes presently, what great regard many heathens had to the monuments of their forefathers, as Nehemiah had here, § 6.

† This rule of Ezra's not to fast on a festival day, is quoted in the Apostolical Constitutions, B. V. as obtaining among Christians also.

people, he died an old man, and was buried in a magnificent manner at Jeruselem. About the same time it happened also, that Joachim the high priest died; and his son Eliasib succeeded in the high priesthood.

6. Now there was one of those Jews that had been carried captive, who was cup-bearer to king Xerxes; his name was Nehemiah. As this man was walking before Susa, the metropolis of the Persians, he heard some strangers that were entering the city after a long journey, speaking to another in the Hebrew tongue, so he went to them and asked them whence they came? And when their answer was, that they came from Judea, he began to inquire of them again in what state the multitude was? and in what condition Jerusalem was; and when they replied, that they were in a * bad state, for that their walls were thrown down to the ground, and that the neighbouring nations did a great deal of mischief to the Jews, while in the day time they over-ran the country, and pillaged it, and in the night did them mischief, insomuch that not a few were led away captive out of the country, and out of Jerusalem itself, and that the roads were in the day time found full of dead men. Hereupon Nehemiah shed tears, out of commiseration of the calamities of his countrymen: and looking up to heaven he said, "How long, O Lord, wilt thou "overlook our nation, while it suffers so great miseries, and while "we are made the prey and spoil of all men?" And while he stayed at the gate and lamented thus, one told him that the king was going to sit down to supper; so he made haste, and went as he was, without washing himself, to minister to the king in his office of cup-bearer: But as the king was very pleasant after supper, and more cheerful than usual, he cast his eyes on Nehemiah, ard seeing him look sad, he asked him, why he was sad? Whereupon he prayed to God to give him favour, and afford him the power of persuading by his words, and said, "How can I, O "king, appear otherwise than thus, and not be in trouble, while "I hear that the walls of Jerusalem, the city where are the "sepulchres of my fathers, are thrown down to the ground, and "that its gates are consumed by fire; but do thou grant me the "favour to go and build its wall, and to finish the building of "the temple." Accordingly the king gave him a signal, that he freely granted him what he asked; and told him that he should carry an epistle to the governors, that they might pay him due honour, and afford him whatsoever assistance he

* This miserable condition of the Jews, and their capital, must have been after the death of Ezra, their former governor, and before Nehemiah came with his commission to build the walls of Jerusalem. Nor is that at all disagreeable to these histories in Josephus, since Ezra came on the 7th, and Nehemiah not till the 25th of Xerxes, at the interval of 18 years.

wanted, and as he pleased. "Leave off thy sorrow then, said "the king, and be cheerful in the performance of thy office "hereafter." So Nehemiah worshipped God; and gave the king thanks for his promise, and cleared up his sad and cloudy countenance, by the pleasure he had from the king's promises. Accordingly, the king called for him the next day, and gave him an epistle to be carried to Adeus, the governor of Syria, and Phenicia, and Samaria; wherein he sent to him to pay due honour to Nehemiah, and to supply him with what he wanted for his building.

7. Now when he was come to Babylon and had taken with him many of his countrymen, who voluntarily followed him, he came to Jerusalem in the twenty and fifth year of the reign of Xerxes: And when he had shewn the * epistles to God, he gave them to Adeus, and to the other governors. He also called together all the people to Jerusalem, and stood in the midst of the temple, and made the following speech to them: "You "know, O Jews, that God hath kept our fathers Abraham, and "Isaac, and Jacob, in mind continually; and for the sake of their "righteousness hath not left off the care of you: Indeed he hath "assisted me in gaining this authority of the king to raise up our "wall, and finish what is wanting of the temple. I desire you, "therefore, who well know the ill-will our neighbouring nations "bear to us; and that when once they are made sensible that we "are in earnest about building, they will come upon us, and "contrive many ways of obstructing our works, that you will, in "the first place, put your trust in God, as in him that will assist "us against their hatred, and to intermit building neither night "nor day, but to use all diligence, and to hasten on the work; "now we have this especial opportunity for it." When he had said this, he gave order that the rulers should measure the wall, and part the work of it among the people, according to their villages and cities, as every one's abilities should require. And when he had added this promise, that he himself, with his servants, would assist them, he dissolved the assembly. So the Jews prepared for the work: That is the name they are called by from the day that they came up from Babylon, which is taken from the tribe of Judah, which came first to these places, and thence both they and the country gained that appellation.

8. But now when the Ammonites, and Moabites, and Sama-

* This shewing king Xerxes's epistles to God, or laying them open before God in the temple, is very like the laying open the epistles of Sennacherib before him also by Hezekiah, 2 Kings xix. 14. Isa, xxxvii. 14. although this last was for a memorial, to put him in mind of the enemies, in order to move that divine compassion, and the present as a token of gratitude for mercies already received, as Havercamp well observes on this place.

ritans, and all that inhabited Celesyria, heard that the building went on apace, they took it heinously, and proceeded to lay snares for them, and to hinder their intentions. They also slew many of the Jews, and sought how they might destroy Nehemiah himself, by hiring some of the foreigners to kill him. They also put the Jews in fear, and disturbed them, and spread abroad rumours, as if many nations were ready to make an expedition against them, by which means they were harassed, and had almost left off the building: But none of these things could deter Nehemiah from being diligent about the work, he only set a number of men about him as a guard to his body, and so unweariedly persevered therein, and was insensible of any trouble out of his desire to perfect this work. And thus did he attentively, and with great forecast take care of his own safety, not that he feared death, but of this persuasion, that if he were dead, the walls for his citizens would never be raised. He also gave orders, that the builders should keep their ranks, and have their armour on while they were building. Accordingly, the mason had his sword on, as well as he that brought the materials for building. He also appointed that their shields should lie very near them; and he placed trumpeters at every five hundred feet, and charged them that if their enemies appeared, they should give notice of it to the people, that they might fight in their armour, and their enemies might not fall upon them naked. He also went about the compass of the city by night, being never discouraged, neither about the work itself, nor about his own diet and sleep, for he made no use of those things for his pleasure, but out of necessity. And this trouble he underwent for * two years and four months: for in so long time was the wall built, in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Xerxes, in the ninth month. Now when the walls were finished, Nehemiah and the multitude offered sacrifices to God for the building of them, and they continued in feasting eight days. However, when the nations which dwelt in Syria heard that the building of the wall was finished,

* It may not be very improper to remark here, with what an unusual accuracy Josephus determines these years of Xerxes, in which the walls of Jerusalem were built, viz. that Nehemiah came with his commission on the 25th of Xerxes; that the walls were two years four months in building, and that they were finished on the 28th of Xerxes, § 7, 8. It may be also remarked farther, that Josephus hardly ever mentions more than one infallible astronomical character, I mean an eclipse of the moon, and this a little before the death of Herod the Great, Antiq. B. XVII. ch. vi. § 4. vol. III. Now on these two chronological characters in a great measure depend some of the most important points belonging to Christianity, viz. the explication of Daniel's 70 weeks, and the duration of our Saviour's ministry, and the time of his death, in correspondence to those 70 weeks. See the supplement to the Lit. Accomp. of Proph. page 72.

they had indignation at it: But when Nehemiah saw that the city was thin of people, he exhorted the priests, and the Levites, that they would leave the country, and remove themselves to the city, and there continue: and he built them houses at his own expenses: and he commanded that part of the people which were employed in cultivating the land to bring the tythes of their fruits to Jerusalem, that the priests and Levites having whereof they might live perpetually, and might not leave the divine worship; who willingly hearkened to the constitutions of Nehemiah, by which means the city Jerusalem came to be fuller of people than it was before. So when Nehemiah had done many other excellent things, and things worthy of commendation in a glorious manner, he came to a great age, and then died. He was a man of a good and righteous disposition, and very ambitious to make his own nation happy: and he hath left the walls of Jerusalem as an eternal monument for himself. Now this was done in the days of Xerxes.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning Esther, and Mordecai, and Haman: and how in the reign of Artaxerxes, the whole nation of the Jews, was in danger of perishing.

§ 1. AFTER the death of Xerxes, the kingdom came to be transferred to his son Cyrus, whom the Greeks called *Artaxerxes*. When this man had obtained the government over the Persians, the whole * nation of the Jews, with their wives and

* Since some sceptical persons are willing to discard this book of Esther as no true history; and even our learned and judicious Dr. Wall, in his late posthumous critical notes upon all the other Hebrew books of the Old Testament, gives us none upon the Canticles, or upon Esther, and seems thereby to give up this book, as well as he gives up the Canticles, as indefensible: I shall venture to say, that almost all the objections against this book of Esther are gone at once, if, as we certainly ought to do, and as Dean Prideaux has justly done, we place this history under Artaxerxes Longimanus, as doth both the Septuagint interpreters and Josephus. The learned Dr. Lee, in his posthumous dissertation on the second book of Esdras, page 25. also says, That "the truth of this history is demonstrated by the feast of Purim, "kept up from that time to this very day. And this surprising providential revolu- "tion in favour of a captive people, thereby constantly commemorated, standeth "even upon a firmer basis than that there ever was such a man as king Alexander "[the Great] in the world, of whose reign there is no such abiding monument at "this day to be found any where. Nor will they, I dare say, who quarrel at this "or any other of the sacred histories, find it a very easy matter to reconcile the dif- "ferent accounts which were given by historians of the affairs of this king, or to "confirm any one fact of his whatever with the same evidence which is here given "for the principal fact in the sacred book, or even so much as to prove the exis- "tence of such a person, of whom so great things are related, but upon granting this "book of Esther, or sixth of Esdras, (as it is placed in some of the most ancient 'copies of the Vulgate,) to be a most true and certain history," &c.

children, were in danger of perishing: the occasion whereof we shall declare in a little time, for it is proper, in the first place, to explain somewhat relating to this king, and how he came to marry a Jewish wife, who was herself of the royal family also, and who is related to have saved our nation; for when Artaxerxes had taken the kingdom, and had set governors over the hundred and twenty and seven provinces, from India even unto Ethiopia, in the third year of his reign, he made a costly feast for his friends, and for the nations of Persia, and for their governors, such an one as was proper for a king to make, when he had a mind to make a public demonstration of his riches, and this for a hundred and fourscore days; after which he made a feast for other nations, and for their ambassadors at Shushan, for seven days. Now this feast was ordered after the manner following: He caused a tent to be pitched, which was supported by pillars of gold and silver, with curtains of linen and purple spread over them, that it might afford room for many ten thousands to sit down. The cups with which the waiters ministered were of gold, and adorned with precious stones, for pleasure, and for sight. He also gave order to the servants that they should not force them to drink, by bringing them wine continually, as is the practice of the Persians, but to permit every one of the guests to enjoy themselves according to his own inclination.—Moreover, he sent messengers through the country, and gave order that they should have a remission of their labours, and should keep a festival many days, on account of his kingdom. In like manner, did Vashti the queen gather her guests together, and made them a feast in the palace. Now the king was desirous to shew her, who exceeded all other women in beauty, to those that feasted with him, and he sent some to command her to come to his feast. But she, out of regard to the laws of the Persians, which * forbid the wives to be seen by strangers, did not go to the king; and though he oftentimes sent the eunuchs to her, she did nevertheless stay away, and refused to come, till the king was so much irritated, that he brake up the entertainment, and

* If the Chaldee paraphrase be in the right, that Artaxerxes intended to shew Vashti to his guests naked, it is no wonder at all that she would not submit to such an indignity; but still if it were not so gross as that, yet it might, in the king's cups, be done in a way so indecent, as the Persian laws would not then bear, no more than the common laws of modesty. And that the king had some such design, seems not improbable, for otherwise the principal of these royal guests could be no strangers to the queen, nor unapprized of her beauty, so far as decency admitted. However, since Providence was now paving the way for the introduction of a Jewess into the king's affections, in order to bring about one of the most wonderful deliverances which the Jewish or any nation ever had, we need not be farther solicitous about the motives by which the king was induced to divorce Vashti, and marry Esther.

rose up and called for those seven who had the interpretation of the laws committed to them, and accused his wife, and said, that he had been affronted by her, because that when she was frequently called by him to his feast, she did not obey him once. He therefore gave order, that they should inform him what could be done by the law against her. So one of them, whose name was *Memucan*, said, That "this affront was offered not to him "alone, but to all the Persians, who were in danger of leading "their lives very ill with their wives, if they must be thus despised by them; for that none of their wives would have any "reverence for their husbands, if they had such an example of "arrogance in the queen towards thee, who rulest over all." Accordingly, he exhorted him to punish her, who had been guilty of so great an affront to him, after a severe manner; and when he had so done, to publish to the nations what had been decreed about the queen. So the resolution was to put Vashti away, and to give her dignity to another woman.

2. But the king having been fond of her, did not well bear a separation, and yet by the law he could not admit of a reconciliation, so he was under trouble, as not having it in his power to do what he desired to do. But when his friends saw him so uneasy, they advised him to cast the memory of his wife, and his love for her, out of his mind, but to send abroad over all the habitable earth, and to search out for comely virgins, and to take her whom he should like best for a wife, because his passion for his former wife would be quenched by the introduction of another, and the kindness he had to Vashti would be withdrawn from her, and be placed on her that was with him. Accordingly, he was persuaded to follow this advice, and gave order to certain persons to choose out of the virgins that were in his kingdom those that were esteemed the most comely. So when a great number of these virgins were gathered together, there was found a damsel in Babylon, both whose parents were dead, and she was brought up with her uncle Mordecai, for that was her uncle's name. This uncle was of the tribe of Benjamin, and was one of the principal persons among the Jews. Now it proved that this damsel, whose name was *Esther*, was the most beautiful of all the rest, and that the grace of her countenance drew the eyes of the spectators principally upon her: So she was committed to one of the eunuchs to take the care of her: and she was very exactly provided with sweet odours, in great plenty, and with costly ointments, such as her body required to be anointed withal: and this was used for six months by the virgins, who were in number four hundred. And when the eunuch thought the virgins had been sufficiently purified, in the forementioned time, and were now fit to go to the king's bed,

he sent one to be with the king every day. So when he had accompanied with her, he sent her back to the eunuch: and when Esther had come to him, he was pleased with her, and fell in love with the damsel, and married her, and made her his lawful wife, and kept a wedding feast for her on the twelfth month of the seventh year of his reign, which was called *Adar*. He also sent *angari*, as they are called, or messengers, unto every nation, and gave orders that they should keep a feast for his marriage, while he himself treated the Persians and the Medes, and the principal men of the nations, for a whole month, on account of this his marriage. Accordingly, Esther came to his royal palace, and he set a diadem on her head: And thus was Esther married, without making known to the king what nation she was derived from. Her uncle also removed from Babylon to Shushan, and dwelt there, being every day about the palace, and inquiring how the damsel did, for he loved her as though she had been his own daughter.

3. Now the king had made * a law, that none of his own people should approach him unless he were called, when he sat upon his throne; men, with axes in their hands, stood round about his throne, in order to punish such as approached to him without being called. However, the king sat with a golden sceptre in his hand, which he held out when he had a mind to save any one of those that approached to him without being called: and he who touched it was free from danger. But of this matter we have discoursed sufficiently.

4. Some time after this [two eunuchs] Bigthan and Teresh plotted against the king; and Barnabazus, the servant of one of the eunuchs, being by birth a Jew, was acquainted with their conspiracy, and discovered it to the queen's uncle; and Mordecai, by the means of Esther, made the conspirators known to the king. This troubled the king, but he discovered the truth, and hanged the eunuchs upon a cross, while at that time he gave no reward to Mordecai, who had been the occasion of his preservation. He only bid the scribes to set down his name in the records, and bid him stay in the palace, as an intimate friend of the king's.

5. Now there was one Haman, the son of Amedatha, by birth an Amalekite, that used to go in to the king; and the foreigners and Persians worshipped him, as Artaxerxes had commanded

* Herodotus says, that this law [against any one's coming uncalled to the kings of Persia when they were sitting on their thrones] was first by enacted Deioces, *i. e.* (by him who first withdrew the Medes from the dominion of the Assyrians, and himself first reigned over them.) Thus also, says Spanheim, stood guards, with their axes, about the throne of Tenus, Tenudus, that the offender might by them be punished immediately.

that such honour should be paid to him; but Mordecai was so wise, and so observant of his own country's laws, that he would not * worship the man. When Haman observed this, he inquired whence he came? and when he understood that he was a Jew, he had indignation at him, and said within himself, That "whereas the Persians, who were free men, worshipped him, "this man, who was no better than a slave, does not vouchsafe "to do so." And when he desired to punish Mordecai, he thought it too small a thing to request of the king that he alone might be punished; he rather determined to abolish the whole nation, for he was naturally an enemy to the Jews, because the nation of the Amalekites, of which he was, had been destroyed by them. Accordingly he came to the king, and accused them, saying, "There is a certain wicked nation, and it is dispersed over all "the habitable earth that was under his dominion; a nation separate from others, unsociable, neither admitting the same "sort of divine worship that others do, nor using laws like to "the laws of others; at enmity with thy people, and with all "men, both in their manners and practices. Now, if thou wilt "be a benefactor to thy subjects, thou wilt give order to destroy "them utterly, and not leave the least remains of them, nor "preserve any of them either for slaves, or for captives." But that the king might not be damnified by the loss of the tributes which the Jews paid him, Haman promised to give him out of his own estate forty thousand talents whensover he pleased; and he said, he would pay this money very willingly, that the kingdom might be freed from such a misfortune.

6. When Haman had made this petition, the king both forgave him the money, and granted him the men, to do what he would with them. So Haman having gained what he desired, sent out immediately a decree, as from the king, to all nations, the contents whereof were these: "Artaxerxes, the great king, "to the rulers of the hundred twenty and seven provinces, from "India to Ethiopia, sends this writing: Whereas I have governed many nations, and obtained the dominions of all the "habitable earth, according to my desire, and have not been "obliged to do any thing that is insolent or cruel to my subjects "by such my power, but have shewed myself mild and gentle, "by taking care of their peace and good order, and have sought

* Whether this adoration required of Mordecai to Haman were by him deemed, too like the adoration due only to God, as Josephus seems here to think, as well as the Septuagint interpreters also, by their translation of Esth. xiii. 12, 13, 14. or whether he thought he ought to pay no sort of adoration to an Amalekite, which nation had been such great sinners as to have been universally devoted to destruction by God himself, Exod. xvii. 14, 15. 16. 2 Sam xv. 18. or whether both causes concurred, cannot now, I doubt, be certainly determined.

" how they might enjoy those blessings for all time to come. " And whereas I have been kindly informed by Haman, who " on account of his prudence and justice, is the first in my esteem, " and in dignity, and only second to myself for his fidelity and " constant good will to me, that there is an ill natured nation in- " termixed with all mankind, that is averse to our laws, and " not subject to kings, and of a different conduct of life from " others, that hateth monarchy, and of a disposition that is per- " nicious to our affairs, I give order that all these men, of whom " Haman our second father, hath informed us, be destroyed, " with their wives, and children, and that none of them be spared, " and that none prefer pity to them before obedience to this de- " cree. And this I will to be executed on the fourteenth day " of the twelfth month of the present year, that so when all " that have enmity to us are destroyed, and this in one day, we " may be allowed to lead the rest of our lives in peace hereafter." Now when this decree was brought to the cities, and to the country, all were ready for the destruction and entire abolishment of the Jews, against the day before mentioned; and they were very hasty about it at Shushan, in particular. Accordingly, the king and Haman spent their time in feasting together with good cheer and wine, but the city was in disorder.

7. Now when Mordecai was informed of what was done, he rent his clothes and put on sackcloth, and sprinkled ashes upon his head, and went about the city, crying out, That " a nation " that had been injurious to no man, was to be destroyed." And he went on saying thus as far as to the king's palace, and there he stood, for it was not lawful for him to go into it in that habit. The same thing was done by all the Jews that were in the several cities wherein this decree was published, with lamentation and mourning, on account of the calamities denounced against them. But as soon as certain persons had told the queen that Mordecai stood before the court in a mourning habit, she was disturbed at this report, and sent out such as should change his garments; but when he could not be induced to put off his sackcloth, because the sad occasion that forced him to put it on was not yet ceased; she called the eunuch Acratheus, for he was then present, and sent him to Mordecai, in order to know of him what sad accident had befallen him, for which he was in mourning, and would not put off the habit he had put on at her desire. Then did Mordecai inform the eunuch of the occasion of his mourning, and of the decree which was sent by the king into all the country, and of the promise of money whereby Haman bought the destruction of their nation. He also gave him a copy of what was proclaimed at Shushan, to be carried to Esther; and he charged her to petition the king about this matter,

and not to think it a dishonourable thing in her to put on an humble habit, for the safety of her nation, wherein she might deprecate the ruin of the Jews, who were in danger of it; for that Haman, whose dignity was only inferior to that of the king's, had accused the Jews, and had irritated the king against them. When she was informed of this, she sent to Mordecai again, and told him that she was not called by the king, and that he who goes in to him without being called, is to be slain, unless when he is willing to save any one, he holds out his golden scepter to him; but that to whomsoever he does so, although he go in without being called, that person is so far from being slain, that he obtains pardon, and is entirely preserved. Now when the eunuch carried this message from Esther to Mordecai, he bade him also tell her that she must not only provide for her own preservation, but for the common preservation of her nation, for that if she now neglected this opportunity, there would certainly arise help to them from God some other way, but she and her father's house would be destroyed by those whom she now despised. But Esther sent the very same eunuch back to Mordecai [to desire him] to go to Shushan, and to gather the Jews that were there together to a congregation, and to fast and abstain from all sorts of food, on her account, and [to let him know that] she with her maidens would do the same; and then she promised that she would go to the king, though it were against the law, and that if she must die for it, she would not refuse it.

8. Accordingly, Mordecai did as Esther had enjoined him, and made the people fast; and he besought God, together with them, "Not to overlook his nation, particularly at this time, when it "was going to be destroyed; but that, as he had often before "provided for them, and forgiven, when they had sinned, so he "would now deliver them from that destruction which was de-"nounced against them; for although it was not all the nation "that had offended, yet must they so ingloriously be slain, and "that he was himself the occasion of the wrath of Haman, be-"cause, said he, I did not worship him, nor could I endure to "pay that honour to him which I used to pay to thee, O Lord, "for upon that his anger hath he contrived this present mis-"chief against those that have not transgressed thy laws." The same supplications did the multitude put up; and entreated that God would provide for their deliverance, and free the Israelites that were in all the earth from this calamity which was now coming upon them, for they had it before their eyes, and expected its coming. Accordingly, Esther made supplication to God after the manner of her country, by casting herself down upon the earth, and putting on her mourning garments, and bidding farewell to meat and drink, and all delicacies, for three days'

time; and she entreated God to have mercy upon her, and make her words appear persuasive to the king, and render her countenance more beautiful than it was before, that both by her words and beauty she might succeed, for the averting of the king's anger, in case he were at all irritated against her, and for the consolation of those of her own country, now they were in the utmost danger of perishing: as also that he would excite an hatred in the king against the enemies of the Jews and those that had contrived their future destruction, if they be proved to be contemned by him.

9. When Esther had used this supplication for three days, she put off those garments, changed her habit, and adorned herself as became a queen, and took two of her hand-maids with her, the one of which supported her, as she gently leaned upon her, and the other followed after, and lifted up her large train (which swept along the ground,) with the extremities of her fingers: And thus she came to the king, having a blushing redness in her countenance, with a pleasant agreeableness in her behaviour, yet did she go in to him with fear; and as soon as she was come over against him, as he was sitting on his throne, in his royal apparel, which was a garment interwoven with gold and precious stones, which made him seem to her more terrible, especially when he looked at her somewhat severely, and with a countenance on fire with anger, her joints failed her immediately, out of the dread she was in, and she fell down sideways in a swoon: but the king changed his mind, which happened, as I suppose, by the will of God, and was concerned for his wife, lest her fear should bring some very ill thing upon her, and he leaped from his throne, and took her in his arms, and recovered her, by embracing her, and speaking comfortably to her, and exhorting her to be of good cheer, and not to suspect any thing that was sad on account of her coming to him without being called, because that law was made for subjects, but that she, who was a queen, as well as he a king, might be entirely secure: and as he said this, he put the sceptre into her hand, and laid his rod upon her neck, on account of the law; and so freed her from her fear. And after she had recovered herself by these encouragements, she said, "My lord, it is not easy for me, on "the sudden, to say what hath happened, for as soon as I saw "thee to be great, and comely, and terrible, my spirit de"parted from me, and I had no soul left in me." And while it was with difficulty, and in a low voice, that she could say thus much, the king was in a great agony and disorder, and encouraged Esther to be of good cheer, and to expect better fortune, since he was ready, if occasion should require it, to grant to her the half of his kingdom. Accordingly, Esther desired that he

and his friend Haman would come to her to a banquet, for she said she had prepared a supper for him. He consented to it; and when they were there, as they were drinking, he bid Esther to "let him know what she desired; for that she should "not be disappointed, though she should desire the half of "his kingdom." But she put off the discovery of her petition till the next day, if he would come again, together with Haman, to her banquet.

10. Now when the king had promised so to do, Haman went away very glad, because he alone had the honour of supping with the king at Esther's banquet, and because no one else partook of the same honour with kings but himself; yet when he saw Mordecai in the court, he was very much displeased, for he paid him no manner of respect when he saw him. So he went home and called for his wife Zeresh, and his friends, and when they were come, he showed them what honour he enjoyed not only from the king, but from the queen also, for as he alone had that day supped with her, together with the king, so was he also invited again for the next day; yet, said he, am I not pleased to see Mordecai the Jew in the court. Hereupon his wife Zeresh advised him to give order that a gallows should be made fifty cubits high, and that in the morning he should ask it of the king, that Mordecai might be hanged thereon. So he commended her advice, and gave order to his servants to prepare the gallows, and to place it in the court, for the punishment of Mordecai thereon, which was accordingly prepared. But God laughed to scorn the wicked expectations of Haman; and as he knew what the event would be, was delighted at it, for that night he took away the king's sleep; and as the king was not willing to lose the time of his lying awake, but to spend it in something that might be of advantage to his kingdom, he commanded the scribe to bring him the chronicles of the former kings, and the records of his own actions; and when he had brought them and was reading them, one was found to have received a country on account of his excellent management on a certain occasion, and the name of the country was set down; another was found to have had a present made him on account of his fidelity: then the scribe came to Bigthan and Teresh, the eunuchs that had made a conspiracy against the king, which Mordecai had discovered, and when the scribe said no more but that, and was going on to another history, the king stopped him, and inquired "Whether it was not added that "Mordecai had a reward given him?" and when he said there was no such addition, he bid him leave off, and he inquired of those that were appointed for that purpose, what hour of the night it was? and when he was informed that it was already day, he gave order, that if they found any one of his friends al-

ready come, and standing before the court, they should tell him. Now it happened that Haman was found there, for he was come sooner than ordinary to petition the king to have Mordecai put to death; and when the servants said, that Haman was before the court, he bid them call him in; and when he was come in, he said, " Because I know that thou art my only fast friend, I de-" sire thee to give me advice, how I may honour one that I " greatly love, and that after a manner suitable to my magnifi-" cence." Now Haman reasoned with himself, that what opinion he should give it would be for himself, since it was he alone who was beloved by the king: so he gave that advice which he thought of all other the best; for he said, " If thou wouldest " truly honour a man whom thou sayest thou dost love, give " order that he may ride on horseback, with the same garment " on which thou wearest, and with a gold chain about his neck, " and let one of thy intimate friends go before him, and proclaim " through the whole city, that whosoever the king honoureth, " obtaineth this mark of his honour." This was the advice which Haman gave, out of a supposal that such a reward would come to himself. Hereupon the king was pleased with the advice, and said, " Go thou, therefore, for thou hast the horse, the " garment, and the chain, ask for Mordecai the Jew, and give him " those things, and go before his horse and proclaim accordingly; " for thou art, said he, my intimate friend, and hast given me " good advice; be thou then the minister of what thou hast ad-" vised me to. This shall be his reward from us, for preserv-" ing my life." When he heard this order, which was entirely unexpected, he was confounded in his mind, and knew not what to do. However, he went out and led the horse, and took the purple garment, and the golden chain for the neck, and finding Mordecai before the court, clothed in sackcloth, he bid him put that garment off, and put the purple garment on: But Mordecai, not knowing the truth of the matter, but thinking that it was done in mockery, said, " O thou wretch, the vilest of all man-" kind, dost thou thus laugh at our calamities?" But when he was satisfied that the king bestowed this honour upon him, for the deliverance he had procured him, when he convicted the eunuchs who had conspired against him, he put on that purple garment which the king always wore, and put the chain about his neck, and got on horseback, and went round the city, while Haman went before, and proclaimed, " This shall be the reward " which the king will bestow on every one whom he loves, and " esteems worthy of honour." And when they had gone round the city, Mordecai went in to the king, but Haman went home, out of shame, and informed his wife and friends of what had happened, and this with tears: who said, that " he would never

" be able to be revenged of Mordecai, for that God was with " him."

11. Now while these men were thus talking one to another, Esther's eunuchs hastened Haman away to come to supper; but one of the eunuchs named Sabuchadas, saw the gallows that was fixed in Haman's house, and inquired of one of his servants, for what purpose they had prepared it? So he knew that it was for the queen's uncle, because Haman was about to petition the king that he might be punished, but at present he held his peace.—Now when the king, with Haman, were at the banquet, he desired the queen to tell him what gift she desired to obtain, and assured her that she should have whatsoever she had a mind to. She then lamented the danger her people were in; and said, that " she and her nation were given up to be destroyed, and " that she, on that account, made this her petition: that she " would not have troubled him if he had only given order that " they should be sold into bitter servitude, for such a misfortune " would not have been intolerable; but she desired that they " might be delivered from such a destruction." And when the king inquired of her who was the author of this misery to them? she then openly accused Haman, and convicted him, that he had been the wicked instrument of this, and had formed his plot against them. When the king was hereupon in disorder, and was gone hastily out of the banquet into the gardens, Haman began to intercede with Esther, and to beseech her to forgive him, as to what he had offended, for he perceived that he was in a very bad case. And as he had fallen upon the queen's bed, and was making supplication to her, the king came in, and being still more provoked at what he saw, " O thou wretch, " said he, thou vilest of all mankind, dost thou aim to force " my wife?" And when Haman was astonished at this, and not able to speak one word more, Sabuchadas the eunuch came in, and accused Haman, and said, " He found a gallows at his " house prepared for Mordecai, for that the servant told him " so much upon his inquiry, when he was sent to him to call " him to supper." He said farther, " that the gallows was fifty " cubits high." Which when the king heard, he determined that Haman should be punished after no other manner than that which had been devised by him against Mordecai: so he gave order immediately that he should be hung upon those gallows, and be put to death after that manner. And from hence I cannot forbear to admire God, and to learn hence his wisdom and his justice, not only in punishing the wickedness of Haman, but in so disposing it, that he should undergo the very same punishment which he had contrived for another; as also, because he thereby teaches others this lesson, that what mischiefs

any one prepares against another, he without knowing of it, first contrives it against himself.

12. Wherefore Haman, who had immoderately abused the honour he had from the king, was destroyed after this manner, and the king granted his estate to the queen. He also called for Mordecai, (for Esther had informed him that she was akin to him) and gave that ring to Mordecai which he had before given to Haman. The queen also gave Haman's estate to Mordecai; and prayed the king to deliver the nation of the Jews from the fear of death, and shewed him what had been written over all the country by Haman the son of Ammedatha: for that if her country were destroyed, and her countrymen were to perish, she could not bear to live herself any longer. So the king promised her, that he could not do any thing that should be disagreeable to her, nor contradict what she desired, but he bid her write what she pleased about the Jews, in the king's name, and seal it with his seal, and send it to all his kingdom, for that those who read epistles whose authority is secured by having the king's seal to them, would no way contradict what was written therein. So he commanded the king's scribes to be sent for, and to write to the nations on the Jews' behalf, and to his lieutenants and governors, that were over his hundred twenty and seven provinces, from India to Ethiopia. Now the contents of this epistle were these: "* The great King Artaxerxes "to our rulers, and those that are our faithful subjects, sendeth "greeting: many men there are, who, on account of the greatness of the benefits bestowed on them, and because of the honour which they have obtained from the wonderful kind treatment of those that bestowed it, are not only injurious to their "inferiors, but do not scruple to do evil to those that have been "their benefactors, as if they would take away gratitude from "among men, and by their insolent abuse of such benefits as they "never expected, they turn the abundance they have against "those that are the authors of it, and suppose they shall lie concealed from God in that case, and avoid that vengeance which "comes from him. Some of these men, when they have had "the management of affairs committed to them by their friends, "and bearing private malice of their own against some others, "by deceiving those that have the power, persuade them to be "angry at such as have done them no harm, till they are in

* The true reason why king Artaxerxes did not here properly revoke his former barbarous decree for the universal slaughter of the Jews, but only empowered and encouraged the Jews to fight for their lives, to kill their enemies, if they attempted their destruction, seems to have been that old law of the Medes and Persians, not yet laid aside, that whatever decree was signed both by the king and his lords, *could not be changed*, but remained unalterable, Daniel vi. 7, 8, 9, 12, 15, 17. Esther i. 19. and viii. 8. And Haman having engrossed the royal favour, might perhaps have himself signed this decree for the Jews' slaughter instead of the ancient lords, and so might have rendered it by their rules irrevocable.

"danger of perishing, and this by laying accusations and calumnies: Nor is this state of things to be discovered by ancient examples, or such as we have learned by report only; but by some examples of such impudent attempts under our own eyes, so that it is not fit to attend any longer to calumnies and accusations, nor to the persuasions of others, but to determine what any one knows of himself to have been really done, and to punish what justly deserves it, and to grant favours to such as are innocent. This hath been the case of Haman, the son of Ammedatha, by birth an Amalekite, and alien from the blood of the Persians, who, when he was hospitably entertained by us, and partook of that kindness which we bear to all men, to so great a degree, as to be called my father, and to be all along worshipped, and to have honour paid him by all in the second rank after the royal honour due to ourselves, he could not bear his good fortune, nor govern the magnitude of his prosperity with sound reason; nay, he made a conspiracy against me and my life, who gave him his authority, by endeavouring to take away Mordecai, my benefactor, and my saviour, and by basely and treacherously requiring to have Esther, the partner of my life, and of my dominion, brought to destruction; for he contrived by this means to * deprive me of my faithful friends, and transfer the government to others: But since I perceived that these Jews, that were by this pernicious fellow devoted to destruction, were not wicked men, but conducted their lives after the best manner, and were men dedicated to the worship of that God who hath preserved the kingdom to me and to my ancestors, I do not only free them from the punishment which the former epistle, which was sent by Haman, ordered to be inflicted on them, to which if you refuse obedience, you shall do well, but I will that they have all honour paid to them. Accordingly, I have hanged up the man that contrived such things against them, with his family, before the gates of Shushan, that punishment being sent upon him by God, who seeth all things. And I give you in charge, that you publicly propose a copy of this epistle through all my kingdom, that the Jews may be permitted peaceably to use their own laws, and that

* These words give an intimation as if Artaxerxes suspected a deeper design in Haman then openly appeared, viz. That knowing the Jews would be faithful to him, and that he could never transfer the crown to his own family, who was an Agagite, Esth. iii. 1, 10. or of the posterity of Agag, the old king of the Amalekites, 1 Sam. xv. 8, 32, 33. while they were alive, and spread over all his dominions, he therefore endeavoured to destroy them. Nor is it to me improbable, that those 75,800 of the Jews' enemies which were soon destroyed by the Jews, on the permission of the king, which must be on some great occasion, were Amalekites, their old and hereditary enemies, Exod. xvii. 14, 15. and that thereby was fulfilled Balaam's prophecy, "Amalek was the first of the nations, but his latter end shall be, that he perish for ever." Num. xxiv. 20.

"you assist them, that at the same season whereto their miserable estate did belong, they may defend themselves the very same day from unjust violence, the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which is Adar, for God hath made that day a day of salvation instead of a day of destruction to them; and may it be a good day to those that wish us well, and a memorial of the punishment of the conspirators against us! and I will that you take notice, that every city, and every nation, that shall disobey any thing that is contained in this epistle, shall be destroyed by fire and sword. However, let this epistle be published through all the country that is under our obedience, and let all the Jews, by all means be ready against the day before mentioned, that they may avenge themselves upon their enemies."

13. Accordingly, the horsemen who carried the epistles, proceeded on the ways which they were to go with speed: but as for Mordecai, as soon as he had assumed the royal garment, and the crown of gold, and had put the chain about his neck, he went forth in a public procession; and when the Jews, who are at Shushan, saw him in so great honour with the king, they thought his good fortune was common to themselves also; and joy, and a beam of salvation encompassed the Jews, both those that were in the cities, and those that were in the countries, upon the publication of the king's letters, insomuch, that many even of other nations circumcised their foreskin for fear of the Jews, that they might procure safety to themselves thereby; for on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which according to the Hebrews is called Adar, but according to the Macedonians, Dystrus, those that carried the king's epistle gave them notice, that the same day wherein their danger was to have been, on that very day should they destroy their enemies. But now the rulers of the provinces, and the tyrants, and the kings, and the scribes, had the Jews in esteem; for the fear they were in of Mordecai forced them to act with discretion. Now when the royal decree was come to all the country that was subject to the king, it fell out that the Jews at Shushan slew five hundred of their enemies: and when the king had told Esther the number of those that were slain in that city, but did not well know what had been done in the provinces, he asked her, whether she would have any thing farther done against them? for that it should be done accordingly: Upon which she desired that the Jews might be permitted to treat their remaining enemies in the same manner the next day; as also that they might hang ten sons of Haman upon the gallows. So the king permitted the Jews so to do, as desirous not to contradict Esther. So they gathered themselves together again on the fourteenth day of the month Dystrus, and slew about three hundred of their enemies, but touched nothing of what

riches they had. Now there was slain by the Jews that were in the country, and in the other cities, seventy-five thousand of their enemies, and these were slain on the thirteenth day of the month, and the next day they kept as a festival. In like manner the Jews that were in Shushan gathered themselves together, and feasted on the fourteenth day and that which followed it; whence it is, that even now all the Jews that are in the habitable earth keep these days festival, and send portions to one another. Mordecai also wrote to those Jews that lived in the kingdom of Artaxerxes to observe these days, and celebrate them as festivals, and to deliver them down to posterity, that this festival might continue for all time to come, and that it might never be buried in oblivion, for since they were about to be destroyed on these days by Haman, they would do a right thing, upon escaping the danger in them, and on them inflicting punishments on their enemies, to observe those days, and give thanks to God on them: for which cause the Jews still keep the fore mentioned days, and call them * days of *Phurim* [or *Purim.*] And Mordecai became a great and illustrious person with the king, and assisted him in the government of the people. He also lived with the queen: so that the affairs of the Jews were by their means, better than they could ever have hoped for. And this was the state of the Jews under the reign of Artaxerxes.†

CHAP. VII.

How John slew his brother Jesus in the temple; and how Bagoses offered many injuries to the Jews, and what Sanballat did.

§ 1. WHEN Eliashab the high priest was dead, his son Judas succeeded in the high priesthood: and when he was dead, his son John took that dignity; on whose account it was also

* Take here part of Reland's note on this disputed passage: "in Josephus's "copies these Hebrew words *days of Purim*, or *Lots*, as in the Greek copies of "Esther, chap. ix. 26, 28—32. is read *days of phurim*, or *days of protection*, but "ought to be read *days of purim*, as in the Hebrew; than which emendation, says "he, nothing is more certain." And had we any assurance that Josephus's copy mentioned the *casting of lots*, as our other copies do, Esth. iii. 7. I should fully agree with Reland, but as it now stands it seems to me by no means certain.

† As to this whole book of Esther in the present Hebrew copy, it is so very imperfect, in a case where the providence of God was so very remarkable, and the Septuagint and Josephus have so much of religion, that it has not so much as the name of God once in it; and it is hard to say who made that epitome which the Masorites have given us for the genuine book itself: no religious Jews could well be the authors of it, whose education obliged them to have a constant regard to God and whatsoever related to his worship; nor do we know that there ever was so imperfect a copy of it in the world till after the days of Barchocab, in the second century.

that Bagoses, the general of * another Artaxerxes's army polluted the temple, and imposed tributes on the Jews, that out of the public stock, before they offered the daily sacrifices, they should pay for every lamb fifty shekels. Now Jesus was the brother of John, and was a friend of Bagoses, who had promised to procure him the high priesthood. In confidence of whose support, Jesus quarrelled with John in the temple, and so provoked his brother, that in his anger his brother slew him. Now it was an horrible thing for John, when he was high priest, to perpetrate so great a crime; and so much the more horrible, that there never was so cruel and impious a thing done, neither by the Greeks nor Barbarians. However, God did not neglect its punishment, but the people were on that very account enslaved and the temple was polluted by the Persians. Now when Bagoses, the general of Artaxerxes army, knew that John, the high priest of the Jews, had slain his own brother Jesus in the temple, he came upon the Jews immediately, and began in anger to say to them, "Have you had the impudence to perpetrate a "murder in your temple!" And as he was aiming to go into the temple, they forbade him so to do; but he said to them, "Am not I purer than he that was slain in the temple?" And when he had said these words, he went into the temple. Accordingly, Bagoses made use of this pretence, and punished the Jews seven years for the murder of Jesus.

2. Now when John had departed this life, his son Jaddua succeeded in the high priesthood. He had a brother, whose name was *Manasseh*. Now there was one *Sanballat*, who was sent by Darius, the last king [of Persia,] into Samaria. He was a Cuthean by birth; of which stock were the Samaritans also. This man knew that the city Jerusalem was a famous city, and that their kings had given a great deal of trouble to the Assyrians, and the people of Celesyria; so that he willingly gave his daugh-

* Concerning this *other* Artaxerxes, called *Mnemon*, and the Persian affliction and captivity of the Jews under him occasioned by the murder of the high-priest's brother in the holy house itself, see Authent. Rec at large, page 49. And if any wonder why Josephus wholly omits the rest of the kings of Persia after Artaxerxes Mnemon, till he came to their last king Darius, who was conquered by Alexander the Great, I shall give them Vossius's and Dr. Hudson's answer, though in my own words, viz. That Josephus did not do ill in omitting those kings of Persia with whom the Jews had no concern; because he was giving the history of the Jews, and not of the Persians: [which is a sufficient reason also why he entirely omits the history and the book of Job, as not particularly relating to that nation.] He justly, therefore, returns to the Jewish affairs after the death of Longimanus, without any mention of Darius II. *before* Artaxerxes Mnemon, or of the Ochus or Arogus, as the Canon of Ptolemy names them *after* him. Nor had he probably mentioned this *other* Artaxerxes unless Bagoses, one of the governors and commanders under him, had occasioned the pollution of the Jewish temple, and had greatly distressed the Jews upon that pollution.

ter, whose name was *Nicaso*, in marriage to Manasseh, as thinking this alliance by marriage would be a pledge and security that the nation of the Jews should continue their good will to him.

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning Sanballat and Manasseh, and the temple which they built on Mount Gerizzim; as also how Alexander made his entry into the city Jerusalem; and what benefits he bestowed on the Jews.

§ 1. About this time it was that Philip, king of Macedon, was treacherously assaulted and slain at Egæ by Pausanias, the son of Cerastes, who was derived from the family of Orestæ, and his son Alexander succeeded him in the kingdom, who passing over the Hellespont, overcame the generals of Darius' army in a battle fought at Granicum. So he marched over Lydia, and subdued Ionia, and over-ran Caria, and fell upon the places of Pamphylia, as has been related elsewhere.

2. But the elders of Jerusalem being very uneasy that the brother of Jaddua the high priest, though married to a foreigner, should be a partner with him in the high priesthood, quarrelled with him; (or they esteemed this man's marriage a step to such as should be desirous of transgressing about the marriage of [strange] wives, and that this would be the beginning of a mutual society with foreigners, although the offence of some about marriages, and their having married wives that were not of their own country, had been an occasion of their former captivity, and of the miseries they then underwent; so they commanded Manasseh to divorce his wife, or not to approach the altar, the high priest himself joining with the people in their indignation against his brother, and driving him away from the altar. Whereupon Manasseh came to his father-in-law, Sanballat, and told him, That "although he loved his daughter "Nicaso, yet he was not willing to be deprived of his sacerdotal "dignity on her account, which was the principal dignity in "their nation, and always continued in the same family." And when Sanballat promised him not only to preserve to him the honour of his priesthood, but to procure for him the power and dignity of an high priest, and would make him governor of all the places he himself now ruled, if he would keep his daughter for his wife. He also told him farther, that he would build him a temple like to that at Jerusalem, upon mount Gerizzim which is the highest of all the mountains that are in Samaria, and he promised that he would do this with the approbation of Darius the king. Manasseh was elevated with these promises, and stayed with Sanballat, upon a supposal that he should gain an high priesthood, as bestowed on him by Darius, for it happened

that Sanballat was then in years. But there was now a great disturbance among the people of Jerusalem, because many of those priests and Levites were entangled in such matches; for they all revolted to Manasseh, and Sanballat afforded them money, and divided among them land for tillage, and habitations also, and all this in order every way to gratify his son-in-law.

3. About this time it was that Darius heard how Alexander had passed over the Hellespont, and had beaten his lieutenants in the battle at Granicum, and was proceeding farther: whereupon he gathered together an army of horse and foot, and determined that he would meet the Macedonians before they should assault and conquer all Asia. So he passed over the river Euphrates, and came over Taurus, the Cilician mountain, and at Issus of Cilicia he waited for the enemy, as ready there to give him battle. Upon which Sanballat was glad that Darius was come down; and told Manasseh that he would suddenly perform his promises to him, and this as soon as ever Darius should come back; after he had beaten his enemies; for not he only, but all those that were in Asia also, were persuaded that the Macedonians would not so much as come to a battle with the Persians, on account of their multitude. But the event proved otherwise than they expected, for the king joined battle with the Macedonians, and was beaten, and lost a great part of his army. His mother also, and his wife and children, were taken captives, and he fled into Persia. So Alexander came into Syria, and took Damascus; and when he had obtained Sidon, he besieged Tyre, when he sent an epistle to the Jewish high priest, "To send him "some auxiliaries, and to supply his army with provisions; "and that what presents he formerly sent to Darius, he would "now send to him, and choose the friendship of the Macedonians "and that he should never repent of so doing." But the high priests answered the messengers, That "he had given his oath to "Darius not to bear arms against him; and he said, that he "would not transgress this while Darius was in the land of "the living." Upon hearing this answer, Alexander was very angry; and though he determined not to leave Tyre, which was just ready to be taken, yet as soon as he had taken it, he threatened that he would make an expedition against the Jewish high priest, and through him teach all men to whom they must keep their oaths. So when he had with a good deal of pains, during the siege, taken Tyre, and had settled its affairs, he came to the city of Gaza, and besieged both the city, and him that was governor of the garrison, whose name was Babemeses.

4. But Sanballat thought he had now gotten a proper opportunity to make his attempt, so he renounced Darius, and, taking with him seven thousand of his own subjects, he came to Alex-

ander; and finding him beginning the siege of Tyre, he said to him, that he delivered up to him these men, who came out of places under his dominion, and did gladly accept of him for his lord, instead of Darius. So when Alexander had received him kindly, Sanballat thereupon took courage, and spake to him about his present affair. He told him, That "he had a son-in-"law, Manasseh, who was brother to the high priest Jaddua: "and that there were many others of his own nation, now with "him, that were desirous to have a temple in the same places "subject to him: that it would be for the king's advantage to "have the strength of the Jews divided into two parts, lest when "the nation is of one mind, and united, upon any attempt for "innovation, it prove troublesome to kings, as it had formerly "proved to the kings of Assyria." Whereupon Alexander gave Sanballat leave so to do, who used the utmost diligence, and built the temple, and made Manasseh the priest, and deemed it a great reward, that his daughter's children should have that dignity: but when the seven months of the siege of Tyre were over, and the two months of the siege of Gaza, Sanballat died. Now Alexander, when he had taken Gaza, made haste to go up to Jerusalem: and Jaddua the high priest, when he heard that, was in an agony, and under terror, as not knowing how he should meet the Macedonians,* since the king was displeased at his foregoing disobedience. He therefore ordained that the people should make supplications, and should join with him in offering sacrifice to God, whom he besought to protect that nation, and to deliver them from the perils that were coming upon them: Whereupon God warned him in a dream, which came upon him after he had offered sacrifice, That "he should take "courage, and adorn the city, and open the gates; that the "rest should appear in white garments, but that he and the "priests should meet the king in the habits proper to their order, "without the dread of any ill consequences, which the provi-"dence of God would prevent." Upon which, when he rose from his sleep, he greatly rejoiced; and declared to all the warning he had received from God. According to which dream he acted entirely, and so waited for the coming of the king.

5. And when he understood that he was not far from the city, he went out in procession, with the priests and the multitude of the citizens. The procession was venerable, and the manner of it different from that of other nations. It reached to a place called *Sapha*, which name translated into Greek, signifies *a prospect*, for you have thence a prospect both of Jerusalem and of the temple: and when the Phenicians and the Chaldeans that followed him, thought they should have liberty to plunder the city, and torment the high priest to death, which the king's displeasure fairly promised them, the very reverse of it happened;

for Alexander, when he saw the multitude at a distance, in white garments, while the priest stood clothed with fine linen, and the high priest in purple and scarlet clothing, with his mitre on his head, having the golden plate whereon the name of God was engraved, he approached by himself, and adored that name, and first saluted the high priest. The Jews also did altogether, with one voice, salute Alexander, and encompass him about: Whereupon the king of Syria, and the rest, were surprised at what Alexander had done, and supposed him disordered in his mind. However, Parmenio alone went up to him, and asked him, "How it came to pass, that when all others adored him, he "should adore the high priest of the Jews?" To whom he replied, "I did not adore him, but that God who hath honoured "him with his high priesthood; for I saw this very person in "a dream, in this very habit, when I was at Dios in Mace-"donia, who, when I was considering with myself how I might "obtain the dominion of Asia, exhorted me to make no delay, "but boldly to pass over the sea thither, for that he would con-"duct my army, and would give me the dominion over the "Persians: whence it is, that having seen no other in that ha-"bit, and now seeing this person in it, and remembering that "vision, and the exhortation which I had in my dream, I believe "that I bring this army under the divine conduct, and shall "therewith conquer Darius, and destroy the power of the Per-"sians, and that all things will succeed according to what is in "my own mind." And when he had said this to Parmenio, and had given the high priest his right hand, the priests ran along by him, and he came into the city. And when he went up into the temple, he offered sacrifice to God, according to the high priest's direction; and magnificently treated both the high priest and the priests. And when the * book of Daniel was showed him, wherein Daniel declared that one of the Greeks should destroy the empire of the Persians, he supposed that himself was the person intended: And as he was then glad, he dismissed the multitude for the present, but the next day he called them to him, and bid them ask what favours they pleased of him; whereupon the high priest desired that they might enjoy the laws of their forefathers, and might pay no tribute on the seventh year. He granted all they desired. And when they entreated him that he would permit the Jews in Babylon and Media to enjoy their own laws also, he willingly promised to do hereafter what they desired. And when he said to the multitude, that if any of them would list themselves in his army, on this condition that they should continue under the laws of their

* The place showed Alexander, might be Dan. vii. 6, 5—8, 20, 21, 22. xi. 3, some or all of them very plain predictions of Alexander's conquests and successors.

forefathers, and live according to them, he was willing to take them with him, many were ready to accompany him in his wars.

6. So when Alexander had thus settled matters at Jerusalem, he led his army into the neighbouring cities; and when all the inhabitants, to whom he came, received him with great kindness, the Samaritans, who had then Shechem for their metropolis (a city situate at mount Gerizzim, and inhabited by apostates of the Jewish nation,) seeing that Alexander had so greatly honoured the Jews, determined to profess themselves Jews, for such is the disposition of the Samaritans, as we have already elsewhere declared, that when the Jews are in adversity they deny that they are of kin to them, and then they confess the truth; but when they perceive that some good fortune hath befallen them, they immediately pretend to have communion with them, saying, that they belong to them, and derive their genealogy from the posterity of Joseph, Ephraim, and Manasseh. Accordingly, they made their address to the king with splendour, and showed great alacrity in meeting him at a little distance from Jerusalem. And when Alexander had commanded them, the Shechemites approached to him, taking with them the troops that Sanballat had sent him, and they desired that he would come to their city, and do honour to their temple also. To whom he promised, that when he returned he would come to them. And when they petitioned that he would remit the tribute of the seventh year to them, because they did not sow thereon, he asked who they were that made such a petition, and when they said that they were Hebrews, but had the name of *Sidonians*, living at Shechem; he asked them again, whether they were Jews, and when they said they were not Jews, "It was to the Jews, said "he, that I granted that privilege; however, when I return, "and am thoroughly informed by you of this matter, I will do "what I shall think proper." And in this manner he took leave of the Shechemites; but ordered that the troops of Sanballat should follow him into Egypt, because there he designed to give them lands, which he did a little after in Thebais, when he ordered them to guard that country.

7. Now when Alexander was dead, the government was parted among his successors, but the temple upon mount Gerizzim remained. And if any one were accused by those of Jerusalem, of having eaten things * common, or of having broken the Sabbath, or of any other crime of the like nature, he fled away to the Shechemites, and said that he was accused unjustly. About this time it was that Jaddua the high priest died; and Onias his son took the high priesthood. This was the state of the affairs of the people of Jerusalem at this time.

* Here Josephus uses the very word KOINOPHAGIA, *eating things common*, for *eating things unclean*; as does our New Testament, Acts x. 14, 15, 28. xi. 8, 9. Romans xiv. 14.

BOOK XII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF A HUNDRED AND SEVENTY YEARS.

[FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT, TO THE DEATH OF JUDAS MACCABEES.]

CHAP. I.

How Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, took Jerusalem and Judea by deceit and treachery, and carried many of the Jews thence, and planted them in Egypt.

§ 1. Now when Alexander, king of Macedon, had put an end to the dominion of the Persians, and had settled the affairs in Judea after the fore-mentioned manner, he ended his life. And as his government fell among many, Antigonus obtained Asia; Seleucus, Babylon; and of the other nations which were there, Lysimachus governed the Hellespont, and Cassander possessed Macedonia; as did Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, seize upon Egypt. And while these princes ambitiously strove one against another, every one for his own principality, it came to pass that there were continual wars, and those lasting wars too; and the cities were sufferers, and lost a great many of their inhabitants in these times of distress, insomuch that all Syria, by the means of Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, underwent the reverse of that denomination of Saviour, which he then had. He also seized upon Jerusalem, and for that end made use of deceit and treachery: for as he came into the city on a Sabbath-day, as if he would offer sacrifices, he without any trouble, gained the city while the Jews did not oppose him, for they did not suspect him to be their enemy; and he gained it thus, because they were free from suspicion of him, and because on that day they were at rest and quietness; and when he had gained it, he ruled over it in a cruel manner. Nay, Agatharchides of Cnidus, who wrote the acts of Alexander's successors, reproaches us with superstition, as if we, by it, had lost our liberty; where he says thus; "There is a nation called the *nation* of the *Jews*, "who inhabit a city strong and great, named Jerusalem.— "These men took no care, but let it come into the hands of "Ptolemy, as not willing to take arms, and thereby they sub- "mitted to be under an hard master, by reason of their unsea-

"sonable superstition." This is what Agatharchides relates of our nation. But when Ptolemy had taken a great many captives, both from the mountainous parts of Judea, and from the places about Jerusalem and Samaria, and the places near mount Gerizzim, he led them all into * Egypt, and settled them there. And as he knew that the people of Jerusalem were † most faithful in the observation of oaths and covenants; and this from the answer they made to Alexander, when he sent an embassage to them, after he had beaten Darius in battle; so he distributed many of them into garrisons, and at Alexandria gave them equal privileges of citizens with the Macedonians themselves; and required of them to take their oaths, that they would keep their fidelity to the posterity of those who committed these places to their care. Nay, there were not a few other Jews, who, of their own accord, went into Egypt, as invited by the goodness of the soil, and by the liberality of Ptolemy. However, there were disorders among their posterity, with relation to the Samaritans, on account of their resolution to preserve that conduct of life which was delivered to them by their forefathers, and they thereupon contended one with another; while those of Jerusalem said, that their temple was holy, and resolved to send their sacrifices thither; but the Samaritans were resolved that they should be sent to mount Gerizzim.

CHAP. II.

How Ptolemy Philadelphus procured the laws of the Jews to be translated into the Greek tongue; and set many captives free; and dedicated many gifts to God.

§ 1. WHEN Alexander had reigned twelve years, and after him Ptolemy Soter forty years, Philadelphus then took

* The great number of the Jews and Samaritans that were formerly carried into Egypt by Alexander, and now by Ptolemy the son of Lagus, appear afterwards in the vast multitude, who, as we shall see presently, were soon ransomed by Philadelphus, and by him made free, before he sent for the seventy-two interpreters: in the many garrisons, and other soldiers of that nation in Egypt; in the famous settlement of Jews, and the number of their synagogues at Alexandria, long afterward; and in the vehement contention between the Jews and Samaritans under Philometer, about the place appointed for public worship in the law of Moses: whether at the Jewish temple at Jerusalem, or at the Samaritan temple at Gerizzim: of all which our author treats hereafter. And as to the Samaritans carried into Egypt under the same princes, Scaliger supposes, that those who have a great synagogue at Cairo, as also those whom the Arabic geographer speaks of, as having seized on an island in the Red Sea, are remains of them at this very day, as the notes here inform us.

† Of the sacredness of oaths among the Jews in the Old Testament, see Scripture Politics, p. 54, 65.

the kingdom of Egypt, and held it forty years within one.—He procured the * law to be interpreted; and set free those that were come from Jerusalem into Egypt, and were in slavery there, who were an hundred and twenty thousand. The occasion was this: Demetrius Phalerius, who was library keeper to the king, was now endeavouring, if it were possible, to gather together all the books that were in the habitable earth, and buying whatsoever was any where valuable, or agreeable to the king's inclination, (who was very earnestly set upon collecting of books;) to which inclination of his Demetrius was zealously subservient. And when once Ptolemy asked him, How many ten thousands of books he had collected? he replied, That he had already about twenty times ten thousand, but that, in a little time, he should have fifty times ten thousand. But he said, he had been informed that there were many books of laws among the Jews, worthy of inquiring after, and worthy of the king's library, but which being written in characters and in a dialect of their own, will cause no small pains in getting them translated into the Greek tongue; that the character in which they are written seems to be like to that which is the proper character of the Syrians, and that its sound, when pronounced, is like theirs also; and that this sound appears to be peculiar to themselves. Wherefore he said, that nothing hindered, why they might not get those books to be translated also, for while nothing is wanting that is necessary for that purpose, we may have their books also in this library. So the king thought that Demetrius was very zealous to procure him abundance of books, and that he suggested what was exceeding proper for him to do; and therefore he wrote to the Jewish high priest, that he should act accordingly.

2. Now there was one Aristeus, who was among the king's most intimate friends, and on account of his modesty very acceptable to him. This Aristeus resolved frequently, and that before now, to petition the king, that he would set all the captive Jews in his kingdom free; and he thought this to be a convenient opportunity for the making that petition. So he discoursed, in the first place, with the captains of the king's guards, Sosibius of Tarentum, and Andreas; and persuaded them to assist him in what he was going to intercede with the king for.

* Of the translation of the other parts of the Old Testament by seventy Egyptian Jews, in the reign of Ptolemy the son of Lagus, and Philadelphus; as also of the translation of the Pentateuch by seventy-two Jerusalem Jews, in the seventh year of Philadelphus at Alexandria, as given us an account of by Aristeus, and thence by Philo and Josephus, with a vindication of Aristeus's history, see the Appendix to Lit. Accomp. of Proph. at large, p. 117—152.

Accordingly Aristeus embraced the same opinion with those that have been before mentioned; and went to the king, and made the following speech to him: "It is not fit for us, O king, to "overlook things hastily, or to deceive ourselves, but to lay "the truth open; For since we have determined not only to get "the laws of the Jews transcribed, but interpreted also, for thy "satisfactson, by what means can we do this, while so many of "the Jews are now slaves in thy kingdom? Do thou then what "will be agreeable to thy magnanimity, and to thy good na-"ture; free them from the miserable condition they are in, be-"cause that God, who supporteth thy kingdom, was the au-"thor of their laws, as I have learned by particular inquiry; "for both these people, and we also, worship the same God, the "framer of all things. We call him, and that truly, by the name "of Ζηνα, [or life, or Jupiter,] because he breathes life into all "men. Wherefore do thou restore these men to their own coun-"try and this do to the honour of God, because these men pay a "peculiarly excellent worship to him. And know this farther, "that though I be not of kin to them by birth, nor one of the "same country with them, yet do I desire these favours to be "done them, since all men are the workmanship of God; and "I am sensible that he is well pleased with those that do good. "I do therefore put up this petition to thee, to do good to "them."

3. When Aristeus was saying thus, the king looked upon him with a cheerful and joyful countenance, and said, "How "many ten thousands dost thou suppose there are of such as "want to be made free?" To which Andreas replied, as he stood by, and said, "A few more than ten times ten thousand." The king made answer, "And is this a small gift that thou "askest, Aristeus?" But Sosibius, and the rest that stood by, said, That "he ought to offer such a thank-offering, as was "worthy of his greatness of soul, to that God who had given "him his kingdom." With this answer he was much pleased; and gave order, that when they paid the soldiers their wages, they should lay down [an * hundred and] twenty drachmæ for

* Although this number 120 drachmæ (of Alexandria, or 60 Jewish shekels) be here three times repeated, and that in all Josephus's copies, Greek and Latin, yet since all the copies of Aristeus, whence Josephus took his relation, have this sum several times, and still as no more than 20 drachmæ, or 10 Jewish shekels; and since the sum of the talents, to be set down presently, which is little above 460, for somewhat more than 100,000 slaves, and is nearly the same in Josephus and Aristeus, does better agree to 20 than to 120 drachmæ: and since the value of a slave of old was, at the utmost but 30 shekels, or 60 drachmæ, see Exod. xxi 32. while in the present circumstances of these Jewish slaves, and those so very numerous, Philadelphus would rather redeem them at a cheaper, than at a dearer rate, there is great reason to prefer here Aristeus's copies before Josephus's.

every one of the slaves. And he promised to publish a magnificent decree, about what they requested, which should confirm what Aristeus had proposed, and especially what God willed should be done; whereby he said, he would not only set those free who had been led away captive by his father, and his army, but those who were in this kingdom before, and those also, if any such there were, who had been brought away since. And when they said that their redemption money would amount to above four hundred talents, he granted it. A copy of which decree I have determined to preserve, that the magnanimity of this king may be made known. Its contents were as follows: "Let all those who were soldiers under our father, and who, "when they over-ran Syria and Phenicia, and laid waste Judea, "took the Jews captives, and made them slaves, and brought "them into our cities, and into this country, and then sold "them; as also all those that were in my kingdom before "them, and if there be any that have been lately brought thi-"ther, be made free by those that possess them; and let them "accept of [an hundred and] twenty drachmæ for every slave. "And let the soldiers receive this redemption money with their "pay, but the rest out of the king's treasury: for I suppose "that they were made captives without our father's consent, "and against equity; and that their country was harassed by "the insolence of the soldiers, and that, by removing them into "Egypt, the soldiers have made a great profit by them. Out of "regard therefore to justice, and out of pity to those that have been "tyrannized over, contrary to equity, I enjoin those that have "such Jews in their service to set them at liberty, upon the "receipt of the before-mentioned sum; and that no one use any "deceit about them, but obey what is here commanded. And "I will, that they give in their names within three days, after "the publication of this edict, to such as are appointed to exe-"cute the same, and to produce the slaves before them also, for "I think it will be for the advantage of my affairs: And let "every one that will, inform against those that do not obey this "decree: and I will that their estates be confiscated into the "king's treasury." When this decree was read to the king, it at first contained the rest that is here inserted, and omitted only those Jews that had formerly been brought, and those brought afterwards which had not been distinctly mentioned, so he added these clauses out of his humanity, and with great generosity. He also gave order, that the payment, which was likely to be done in an hurry, should be divided among the king's ministers, and among the officers of his treasury. When this was over, what the king had decreed was quickly brought to a conclusion; and this in no more than seven days time, the num-

ber of the talents paid for the captives being above four hundred and sixty, and this, because their masters required the [hundred and] twenty drachmæ for the children also, the king having in effect, commanded, that these should be paid for, when he said in his decree, that they should receive the fore-mentioned sum for every slave.

4. Now when this had been done after so magnificent a manner, according to the king's inclinations, he gave order to Demetrius to give him in writing his sentiments concerning the transcribing of the Jewish books, for no part of the administration is done rashly by these kings, but all things are managed with great circumspection. On which account I have subjoined a copy of these epistles, and set down the multitude of the vessels sent as gifts [to Jerusalem] and the construction of every one, that the exactness of the artificer's workmanship, as it appeared to those that saw them, and which workman made every vessel, may be made manifest, and this on account of the excellency of the vessels themselves. Now the copy of the epistle was to this purpose; "Demetrius to the great king: "When thou, O king, gavest me a charge concerning the collection of books that were wanting to fill your library, and "concerning the care that ought to be taken about such as are "imperfect, I have used the utmost diligence about those matters. And I let you know, that we want the books of the "Jewish legislation, with some others; for they are written in "the Hebrew characters, and being in the language of that nation, are to us unknown. It hath also happened to them, "that they have been transcribed more carelessly than they "ought to have been, because they have not had hitherto royal "care taken about them. Now it is necessary that thou shouldst "have accurate copies of them. And indeed this legislation is "full of hidden wisdom, and entirely blameless, as being the "legislation of God: For which cause it is, as Hecateus of Abdera says, that the poets and historians make no mention of "it, nor of those men who lead their lives according to it, since "it is an holy law, and ought not to be published by profane "mouths. If then it please thee, O King, thou mayest write "to the high priest of the Jews, to send six of the elders out of "every tribe, and those such as are most skilful of the laws, "that by their means we may learn the clear and agreeing sense "of these books; and may obtain an accurate interpretation of "their contents, and so may have such a collection of these as "may be suitable to thy desire."

5. When this epistle was sent to the king, he commanded that an epistle should be drawn up for Eleazar, the Jewish high priest, concerning these matters; and that they should inform

him of the release of the Jews that had been in slavery among them. He also sent fifty talents of gold for the making of large basons, and vials, and cups, and an immense quantity of precious stones. He also gave orders to those who had the custody of the chest that contained these stones, to give the artificers leave to choose out what sorts of them they pleased. He withal appointed, that an hundred talents in money should be sent to the temple, for sacrifices, and for other uses. Now I will give a description of these vessels, and the manner of their construction, but not till after I have set down a copy of the epistle which was written to Eleazar the high priest, who had obtained that dignity on the occasion following: when Onias the high priest was dead, his son Simon became his successor. He was called * *Simon the Just*, because of both his piety towards God, and his kind disposition to those of his own nation. When he was dead, and had left a young son, who was called Onias, Simon's brother Eleazar, of whom we are speaking, took the high priesthood; and he it was to whom Ptolemy wrote, and that in the manner, following:— "King Ptolemy to Eleazar the high priest, sendeth greeting: "There are many Jews who now dwell in my kingdom, whom "the Persians, when they were in power, carried captives.— "These were honoured by my father; some of them he placed "in the army, and gave them greater pay than ordinary; to o-"thers of them, when they came with him into Egypt, he com-"mitted his garrisons, and the guarding of them, that they "might be a terror to the Egyptians. And when I had taken "the government, I treated all men with humanity, and espe-"cially those that are thy fellow citizens, of whom I have set "free above an hundred thousand that were slaves, and paid the "price of their redemption to their masters out of my own re-"venues; and those that are of a fit age, I have admitted into "the number of my soldiers. And for such as are capable of "being faithful to me, and proper for my court, I have put "them in such a post, as thinking this [kindness done to them] "to be a very great and an acceptable gift, which I devote to "God for his providence over me. And as I am desirous to do "what will be grateful to these, and to all the other Jews in "the habitable earth, I have determined to procure an interpre-"tation of your law, and to have it translated out of Hebrew "into Greek, and to be reposited in my library. Thou wilt "therefore do well to choose out and send to me men of a good "character, who are now elders in age, and six in number out

* We have a very great encomium of this *Simon the Just*, the son of Onias I. in the fiftieth chapter of the Ecclesiasticus, through the whole chapter. Nor is it improper to consult that chapter itself upon this occasion.

"of every tribe. These, by their age, must be skilful in the "laws, and of abilities to make an accurate interpretation of "them: and when this shall be finished, I shall think that I "have done a work glorious to myself. And I have sent to "thee Andreas, the captain of my guard, and Aristeus, men "whom I have in very great esteem; by whom I have sent "those first fruits which I have dedicated to the temple, and to "the sacrifices, and to other uses, to the value of an hundred "talents. And if thou wilt send to us, to let us know what "thou wouldst have farther, thou wilt do a thing acceptable to "me."

6. When this epistle of the king's was brought to Eleazar, he wrote an answer to it with all the respect possible: "Eleazar "the high priest, to king Ptolemy, sendeth greeting: If thou "and thy * queen Arsinoe, and thy children, be well, we are "entirely satisfied. When we received thy epistle, we greatly "rejoiced at thy intentions: And when the multitude were ga-"thered together, we read it to them, and thereby made them "sensible of the piety thou hast towards God. We also shewed "them the twenty vials of gold, and thirty of silver, and the "five large basons, and the table for the shew-bread; as also "the hundred talents for the sacrifices, and for the making what "shall be needful at the temple. Which things Andreas and "Aristeus, those most honoured friends of thine, have brought "us: and truly they are persons of an excellent character, and "of great learning, and worthy of thy virtue. Know then, that "we will gratify thee in what is for thy advantage, though we "do what we used not to do before, for we ought to make a re-"turn for the numerous acts of kindness which thou hast done "to our countrymen. We immediately, therefore, offered sa-"crifices for thee and thy sister, with thy children, and friends; "and the multitude made prayers, that thy affairs may be to "thy mind, and that thy kingdom may be preserved in peace, "and that the translation of our law may come to the conclusion "thou desirest, and be for thy advantage. We have also chosen "six elders out of every tribe, whom we have sent, and the law "with them. It will be thy part, out of thy piety and justice, "to send back the law, when it hath been translated; and to "return those to us that bring it in safety. Farewell."

7. This was the reply which the high priest made. But it

* When we have here and presently mention made of Philadelphus's queen, and sister Arsinoe, we are to remember, with Spanheim, that Arsinoe was both his sister and his wife, according to the old custom of Persia, and of Egypt at this very time; nay, of the Assyrians long afterward. See Antiq B. XX ch. ii. sec. 1. vol. III. Whence we have, upon the coins of Philadelphus, this known inscription, *the divine brother and sister.*

does not seem to me to be necessary to set down the names of the seventy [two] elders who were sent by Eleazar, and carried the law, which yet were subjoined at the end of the epistle.— However, I thought it not improper to give an account of those very valuable and artificially contrived vessels which the king sent to God, that all may see how great a regard the king had for God; for the king allowed a vast deal of expenses for these vessels: and came often to the workmen, and viewed their works, and suffered nothing of carelessness or negligence to be any damage to their operations. And I will relate how rich they were as well as I am able, although perhaps the nature of this history may not require such a description, but I imagine I shall thereby recommend the elegant taste and magnanimity of this king to those that read this history.

8. And first I will describe what belongs to the table. It was indeed in the king's mind to make this table vastly large in its dimensions; but then he gave orders that they should learn what was the magnitude of the table which was already at Jerusalem, and how large it was, and whether there were a possibility of making one larger than it. And when he was informed how large that was which was already there, and that nothing hindered but a larger might be made, he said, That "he was willing to have one made that should be five times as large as the present table, but his fear was, that it might be then useless in their sacred ministrations, by its too great largeness; for he desired that the gifts he presented them, should not only be there for show, but should be useful also in their sacred ministrations." According to which reasoning, that the former table was made of so moderate a size for use, and not for want of gold, he resolved that he would not exceed the former table in largeness; but would make it exceed it in the variety and elegancy of its materials. And as he was sagacious in observing the nature of all things, and in having a just notion of what was new and surprising, and where there was no sculptures, he would invent such as were proper, by his own skill, and would shew them to the workmen, he commanded that such sculptures should now be made, and that those which were delineated, should be most accurately formed by a constant regard to their delineation.

9. When therefore the workmen had undertaken to make the table, they framed it in length two cubits [and a half,] in breadth one cubit, and in height one cubit and a half; and the entire structure of the work was of gold. They withal made a crown of an hand-breadth round it, with wave-work wreathed about it, and with an engraving imitated a cord, and was admirably turned on its three parts; for as they were of a triangular

figure, every angle had the same disposition of its sculptures, that when you turned them about, the very same form of them was turned about without any variation. Now that part of the crown-work that was inclosed under the table had its sculptures very beautiful, but that part which went round on the outside was more elaborately adorned with most beautiful ornaments, because it was exposed to sight, and to the view of the spectators; for which reason it was that both those sides which were extant above the rest, were acute and none of the angles, which we before told you were three, appeared less than another, when the table was turned about. Now into the cord-work thus turned were precious stones inserted in rows parallel one to the other, inclosed in golden buttons, which had ouches in them; but the parts which were on the side of the crown, and were exposed to the sight, were adorned with a row of oval figures obliquely placed, of the most excellent sort of precious stones, which imitated rods laid close; and encompassed the table round about. But under these oval figures, thus engraven, the workmen had put a crown all round it, where the nature of all sorts of fruit was represented, insomuch that the bunches of grapes hung up. And when they had made the stones to represent all the kinds of fruit before mentioned, and that each in its proper colour, they made them fast with gold round the whole table. The like disposition of the oval figures, and of the engraved rods, was framed under the crown, that the table might on each side shew the same appearance of variety, and elegancy of its ornaments, so that neither the position of the wave-work nor of the crown, might be different, although the table were turned on the other side, but that the prospect of the most artificial contrivances might be extended as far as the feet; for there was made a plate of gold of four fingers broad, through the entire breadth of the table, into which they inserted the feet, and then fastened them to the table by buttons, and button-holes, at the place where the crown was situate, that so on what side soever of the table one should stand, it might exhibit the very same view of the exquisite workmanship, and of the vast expenses bestowed upon it: but upon the table itself they engraved a meander, inserting into it very valuable stones in the middle, like stars of various colours: the carbuncle and the emerald, each of which sent out agreeable rays of light to the spectators; with such stones of other sorts also as were most curious, and best esteemed, as being most precious in their kind. Hard by this meander a texture of net-work ran round it, the middle of which appeared like a rhombus, into which were inserted rock crystal, and amber, which, by the great resemblance of the appearance they made, gave wonderful delight to those that saw them. The

chapiters of the feet imitated the first buddings of lilies, while their leaves were bent and laid under the table, but so that the chives were seen standing upright within them. Their bases were made of a carbuncle; and the place at the bottom, which rested on that carbuncle, was one palm deep, and eight fingers in breadth. Now they had engraven upon it with a very fine tool, and with a great deal of pains, a branch of ivy, and tendrils of the vine; sending forth clusters of grapes, that you would guess they were no wise different from real tendrils, for they were so very thin, and so very far extended at their extremities, that they were moved with the wind, and made one believe that they were the product of nature, and not the representation of art. They also made the entire workmanship of the table appear to be threefold, while the joints of the several parts were so united together as to be invisible, and the places where they joined could not be distinguished. Now the thickness of the table was not less than half a cubit. So that this gift, by the king's great generosity, by the great value of the materials, and the variety of its exquisite structure, and the artificer's skill in imitating nature with graving tools, was at length brought to perfection, while the king was very desirous that though in largeness it were not to be different from that which was already dedicated to God, yet that in exquisite workmanship, and the novelty of the contrivances, and in the splendour of its construction, it should far exceed it, and be more illustrious than that was.

10. Now of the cisterns of gold there were two, whose sculpture was of scale-work, from its basis to its belt-like circle, with various sorts of stones inchased in the spiral circles. Next to which there was upon it a meander of a cubit in height; it was composed of stones of all sorts of colours. And next to this was the rod-work engraven; and next to that was a rhombus in a texture of net-work, drawn out to the brim of the bason, while small shields made of stones, beautiful in their kind, and of four fingers depth, filled up the middle parts. About the top of the bason were wreathed the leaves of lilies, and of the convolvulus, and the tendrils of vines, in a circular manner. And this was the construction of the two cisterns of gold, each containing two firkins. But those which were of silver were much more bright and splendid than looking glasses, and you might in them see the images that fell upon them more plainly than in the other. The king also ordered thirty vials; those of which the parts that were of gold, and not filled up with precious stones, were shadowed over with the leaves of ivy, and of vines, artificially engraven. And these were the vessels that were, after an extraordinary manner, brought to this perfection, partly by the skill of the workmen, who were admirable in such fine work, but much

more by the diligence and generosity of the king, who not only supplied the artificers abundantly, and with great generosity, with what they wanted, but he forbade public audiences for the time, and came and stood by the workmen, and saw the whole operation. And this was the cause why the workmen were so accurate in their performance, because they had regard to the king, and to his great concern about the vessels, and so the more indefatigably kept close to the work.

11. And these were what gifts were sent by Ptolemy to Jerusalem, and dedicated to God there. But when Eleazar the high priest had devoted them to God, and had paid due respect to those that brought them, and had given them presents to be carried to the king, he dismissed them. And when they were come to Alexandria, and Ptolemy heard that they were come, and that the seventy elders, were come also, he presently sent for Andreas and Aristeus, his ambassadors, who came to him, and delivered him the epistle which they brought him from the high priest, and made answer to all the questions he put to them by word of mouth. He then made haste to meet the elders that came from Jerusalem, for the interpretation of the laws; and he gave command, that every body, who came on occasions, should be sent away, which was a thing surprising, and what he did not use to do, for those that there were drawn thither upon such occasions used to come to him on the fifth day, but ambassadors at the month's end. But when he had sent those away, he waited for these that were sent by Eleazar; but as the old men came in with the presents, which the high priest had given them to bring to the king, and with the membranes, upon which they had their laws written * in golden letters, he put questions to them concerning those books; and when they had taken off the covers wherein they were wrapt up, they showed him the membranes. So the king stood admiring the thinness of those membranes, and the exactness of the junctures; which could not be perceived, (so exactly were they connected one with another); and this he did for a considerable time. He then said that he returned them thanks for coming to him, and still greater thanks to him that sent them; and, above all, to that God whose laws they appeared to be. Then did the elders, and those that were present with them, cry out with one voice, and wished all happiness to the king. Upon which he fell into tears by the violence of the pleasure he had, it being natural to men to afford the same indications in great joy, that they do under sorrows. And when he had bid them deliver the books to those that were appointed

* The Talmudists say, that it is not lawful to write the law in letters of gold, contrary to this certain and very ancient example. See Hudson's and Reland's notes here.

to receive them, he saluted the men; and said, that it was but just to discourse, in the first place, of the errand they were sent about, and then to address himself to themselves. He promised, however, that he would make this day on which they came to him remarkable and eminent every year through the whole course of his life; for their coming to him, and the victory which he gained over Antigonus by sea, proved to be on the very same day. He also gave orders, that they should sup with him; and gave it in charge that they should have excellent lodgings provided for them in the upper part of the city.

12. Now he that was appointed to take care of the reception of strangers, Nicanor by name, called for Dorotheus, whose duty it was to make provision for them, and bid him prepare for every one of them what should be requisite for their diet and way of living. Which thing was ordered by the king after this manner: he took care, that those that belonged to every city, which did not use the same way of living, that all things should be prepared for them according to the custom of those that came to him, that being feasted according to the usual method of their own way of living, they might be the better pleased, and might not be uneasy at any thing done to them, from which they were naturally averse. And this was now done in the case of these men by Dorotheus, who was put into this office because of his great skill in such matters belonging to common life: for he took care of all such matters as concerned the reception of strangers, and appointed them double seats for them to sit on, according as the king had commanded him to do; for he had commanded that half of their seats should be set at his hand, and the other half behind his table, and took care that no respect should be omitted that could be shewn them. And when they were thus set down, he bid Dorotheus to minister to all those that were come to him from Judea, after the manner they used to be ministered to: for which cause he sent away their sacred heralds, and those that slew the sacrifices, and the rest that used to say grace: but called to one of those that were come to him, whose name was Eleazar, who was a priest, and desired him to * say grace; who then stood in the midst of them, and prayed, that "all prosperi-"ty might attend the king, and those that were his subjects." Up-

* This is the most ancient example I have met with, of a grace, or short prayer, or thanksgiving before meat; which, as it used to be said by an heathen priest, was now said by Eleazar, a Jewish priest, who was one of these seventy-two interpreters. The next example I have met with is that of the Essenes, Of the War, B. II. chap. viii. sec. 5. vol. III. both before and after it; those of our Saviour before it, Mark viii. 6. John vi. 11. 23, and St. Paul, Acts xxvii. 35. and a form of such a grace or prayer for Christians, at the end of the fifth book of the Apostolical Constitutions, which seems to have been intended for both times, both before and after meat.

on which an acclamation was made by the whole company, with joy and a great noise; and when that was over, they fell to eating their supper, and to the enjoyment of what was set before them. And at a little interval afterward, when the king thought a sufficient time had been interposed, he began to talk philosophically to them, and he asked every one of them a * philosophical question, and such an one as might give light in those inquiries; and when they had explained all the problems that had been proposed by the king about every point, he was well pleased with their answers. This took up the twelve days in which they were treated: and he that pleases may learn the particular questions in that book of Aristeus's, which he wrote on this very occasion.

12. And while not the king only, but the philosopher Menedemus also admired them, and said, "that all things were governed by providence: and that it was probable that thence it was that such force or beauty was discovered in these men's words," they then left off asking any more such questions. But the king said that he had gained very great advantages by their coming, for that he had received this profit from them, that he had learned how he ought to rule his subjects. And he gave order that they should have every one three talents given them, and that those that were to conduct them to their lodging should do it. Accordingly, when three days were over, Demetrius took them, and went over the causeway seven furlongs long: It was a bank in the sea to an island. And when they had gone over the bridge, he proceeded to the northern parts and shewed them where they should meet, which was in an house which was built near the shore, and was a quiet place, and fit for their discoursing together about their work. When he had brought them thither, he entreated them, (now they had all things about them which they wanted for the interpretation of their law) that they would suffer nothing to interrupt them in their work. Accordingly, they made an accurate interpretation, with great zeal and great pains, and this they continued to do till the ninth hour of the day; after which time they relaxed, and took care of their body, while their food was provided for them in great plenty: besides, Dorotheus, at the king's command, brought them a great deal of what was provided for the king himself. But in the morning they came to the court, and saluted Ptolemy, and then went away to their former place, where, when they had † washed their hands, and purified them-

* They were rather political questions and answers, tending to the good and religious government of mankind.

† This purification of the interpreters, by washing in the sea, before they prayed to God every morning, and before they set about translating, may be

selves, they betook themselves to the interpretation of the laws. Now when the law was transcribed, and the labour of interpretation was over, which came to its conclusion in seventy-two days, Demetrius gathered all the Jews together to the place where the laws were translated, and where the interpreters were, and read them over. The multitude did also approve of those elders that were the interpreters of the law. They withal commended Demetrius for his proposal, as the inventor of what was greatly for their happiness; and they desired that he would give leave to their rulers also to read the law. Moreover, they all, both the priest and the ancientest of the elders, and the principal men of their commonwealth, made it their request, that since the interpretation was happily finished, it might continue in the state it now was, and might not be altered. And when they all commended that determination of theirs, they enjoined, that if any one observed either any thing superfluous, or any thing omitted, that he would take a view of it again, and have it laid before them, and corrected; which was a wise account of theirs, that when the thing was judged to have been well done, it might continue for ever.

13. So the king rejoiced, when he saw that his design of this nature was brought to perfection to so great advantage: and he was chiefly delighted with hearing the laws read to him, and was astonished at the deep meaning and wisdom of the legislator. And he began to discourse with Demetrius, "How it came "to pass, that when this legislation was so wonderful, no one, "either of the poets or of the historians, had made mention of "it." Demetrius made answer, that "no one durst be so bold "as to touch upon the description of these laws, because they "were divine and venerable, and because some that had attempted it were afflicted by God." He also told him, that "Theopompouse was desirous of writing somewhat about them, but "was thereupon disturbed in his mind for above thirty days' "time; and upon some intermission of his distemper, he appeased God [by prayer] as suspecting that his madness proceeded from that cause." Nay, indeed, he further saw a dream, that his distemper befell him while he indulged too great a curiosity about divine matters, and was desirous of publishing them among common men; but when he left off that attempt, he recovered his understanding again. Moreover, he informed him of Theodectes, the tragic poet, concerning whom it was reported,

compared with the like practice of Peter the apostle, in the recognitions of Clement, B. IV. chap. iii. and B. V. chap. xxxvi. and with the places of the Proseuthæ, or of prayer, which were sometimes built near the sea or rivers also. Of which matter, see Antiq. B. XIV. ch. x. § 23. Vol. II. and Acts xvi. 13, '6.

that when, in a certain dramatic representation, he was desirous to make mention of things that were contained in the sacred books, he was afflicted with a darkness in his eyes; and that upon his being conscious of the occasion of his distemper, and appeasing God [by prayer], he was freed from that affliction.

14. And when the king had received these books from Demetrius, as we have said already, he adored them, and gave order that great care should be taken of them, that they might remain uncorrupted. He also desired that the interpreters would come often to him out of Judea, and that both on account of the respects that he would pay them, and on account of the presents he would make them: For he said, "It was now but just to "send them away, although if of their own accord, they would "come to him hereafter, they should obtain all that their own "wisdom might justly require, and what his generosity was "able to give them." So he then sent them away; and gave to every one of them three garments of the best sort, and two talents of gold, and a cup of the value of one talent, and the furniture of the room wherein they were feasted. And these were the things he presented to them. But by them he sent to Eleazar the high priest, ten beds, with feet of silver, and the furniture to them belonging, and a cup of the value of thirty talents; and besides these, ten garments, and purple, and a very beautiful crown, and an hundred pieces of the finest woven linen; as also vials and dishes, and vessels for pouring, and two golden cisterns to be dedicated to God. He also desired him, by an epistle, that he would give these interpreters leave, if any of them were desirous of coming to him, because he highly valued a conversation with men of such learning; and should be very willing to lay out his wealth upon such men. And this was what came to the Jews, and was much to their glory and honour, from Ptolemy Philadelphus.

CHAP. III.

How the kings of Asia honoured the nation of the Jews, and made them citizens of those cities which they built.

§ 1. The Jews also obtained honour from the kings of Asia, when they became their auxiliaries; for Seleucus Nicator made them citizens in those cities which he built in Asia; and in the lower Syria, and in the metropolis itself, Antioch; and gave them privileges equal to those of the Macedonians and Greeks, who were the inhabitants, insomuch that these privileges continue to this very day: An argument for which you

have in this, that whereas the Jews do not make use of * oil prepared by foreigners, they receive a certain sum of money from the proper officers belonging to their exercises as the value would have deprived them of, in the last war, Mucianus, who was then president of Syria, preserved it to them. And when the people of Alexandria and of Antioch did after that, at the time that Vespasian and Titus his son governed the habitable earth, pray that these privileges of citizens might be taken away, they did not obtain their request. In which behaviour any one may discern the † equity and generosity of the Romans, especially of Vespasian and Titus, who, although they had been at a great deal of pains in the war against the Jews, and were exasperated against them, because they did not deliver up their weapons to them, but continued the war to the very last, yet did not they take away any of their fore-mentioned privileges belonging to them as citizens, but restrained their anger; and overcame the prayers of the Alexandrians and Antiochians, who were a very powerful people, insomuch that they did not yield to them, neither out of their favour to those people, nor out of their old grudge at those whose wicked opposition they had subdued in the war; nor would they alter any of the ancient favours granted to the Jews, but said, that those who had borne arms against them, and fought them, had suffered punishment already, and that it was not just to deprive those that had not offended of the privileges they enjoyed.

2. We also know that Marcus Agrippa was of the like disposition towards the Jews: For when the people of Ionia were very angry at them, and besought Agrippa, that they, and they only, might have those privileges of citizens which Antiochus, the grandson of Seleucus (who by the Greeks was called *the God*), had bestowed on them; and desired that if the Jews were to be joint-partakers with them, they might be obliged to worship the gods they themselves worshipped: but when these matters were brought to the trial, the Jews prevailed, and ob-

* The use of oil was much greater, and the donatives of it much more valuable in Judea, and the neighbouring countries, than it is amongst us. It was also, in the days of Josephus, thought unlawful for Jews to make use of any oil that was prepared by heathens, perhaps on account of some superstitions intermixed with its preparation by those heathens. When therefore the heathens were to make them a donative of oil, they paid them money instead of it. See Of the War, B. II. ch. xxii. sect. 2. vol. III. the Life of Josephus sect 13. vol. III. and Hudson's note on the place before us.

† This, and the like great and just characters, of the justice and equity, and generosity of the old Romans, both to the Jews and other conquered nations, affords us a very good reason why Almighty God, upon the rejection of the Jews for their wickedness, chose them for his people, and first established Christianity in that empire. Of which matter, see Josephus here, sect. 2. as also Antiq. B. XIV. ch. x. sect. 21, 23. B. XVI. chap. 2. sect. 4.

tained leave to make us of their own customs, and this under the patronage of Nicolaus of Damascus; for Agrippa gave sentence, that he could not innovate. And if any one hath a mind to know this matter accurately, let him peruse the hundred and twenty-third, and hundred and twenty-fourth book of the history of this Nicolaus. Now, as to this determination of Agrippa, it is not so much to be admired, for at this time our nation had not made war against the Romans. But one may well be astonished at the generosity of Vespasian and Titus, that after so great wars and conquests which they had from us, they should use such moderation. But I will now return to that part of my history whence I made the present digression.

3. Now it happened that in the reign of Antiochus the Great, who ruled over all Asia, that the Jews, as well as the inhabitants of Celœsyria, suffered greatly, and their land was sorely harrassed: For while he was at war with Ptolemy Philopater, and with his son who was called *Epiphanes*, it fell out, that these nations were equally sufferers, both when he was beaten, and when he beat the others: So that they were very like to a ship in a storm, which is tossed by the waves on both sides; and just thus were they in their situation in the middle between Antiochus's prosperity and its change to adversity. But at length, when Antiochus had beaten Ptolemy, he seized upon Judea: And when Philopater was dead, his son sent out a great army under Scopas, the general of his forces, against the inhabitants of Celœsyria, who took many of their cities, and in particular our nation; which, when he fell upon them, went over to him. Yet was it not long afterward when Antiochus overcame Scopas, in a battle fought at the fountains of Jordan, and destroyed a great part of his army. But afterward, when Antiochus subdued those cities of Celœsyria which Scopas had gotten into his possession, and Samaria, with them the Jews of their own accord, went over to him, and received him into the city [Jerusalem], and gave plentiful provision to all his army, and to his elephants, and readily assisted him when he besieged the garrison which was in the citadel of Jerusalem. Wherefore Antiochus thought it but just to requit the Jews' diligence and zeal in his service: So he wrote to the generals of his armies, and to his friends, and gave testimony to the good behaviour of the Jews towards him, and informed them what rewards he had resolved to bestow on them for that their behaviour. I will set down presently the epistles themselves, which he wrote to the generals concerning them, but will first produce the testimonies of Polybius of Megalopolis, for thus does he speak, in the sixteenth book of his history: "Now Scopas, the general of Ptolemy's "army, went in haste to the superior parts of the country, and

"in the winter time overthrew the nation of the Jews. He al-
"so saith, in the same book, that when Scopas was conquered
"by Antiochus, Antiochus received Batanea and Samaria, and
"Abila and Gadara; and that, a while afterwards, there came
"in to him those Jews that inhabited near that temple which
"was called *Jerusalem*, concerning which, although I have
"more to say, and particularly concerning the presence of God
"about the temple, yet do I put off that history till another
"opportunity." This it is which Polybius relates. But we will return to the series of the history, when we have first produced the epistle of king Antiochus:

"*King* ANTIOCHUS *to* PTOLEMY, *sendeth greeting:*"

"Since the Jews, upon our first entrance on their country, de-
"monstrated their friendship towards us; and when we came
"to their city [Jerusalem], received us in a splendid manner,
"and came to meet us with their senate, and gave abundance of
"provisions to our soldiers, and to the elephants, and joined
"with us in ejecting the garrison of the Egyptians that were in
"the citadel, we have thought fit to reward them, and to re-
"trieve the condition of their city, which had been greatly de-
"populated by such accidents as have befallen its inhabitants,
"and to bring those that have been scattered abroad back to the
"city. And, in the first place, we have determined, on ac-
"count of their piety towards God, to bestow on them, as a
"pension, for their sacrifices of animals that are fit for sacrifice,
"for wine and oil, and frankincense, the value of twenty thou-
"sand pieces of silver, and [six] sacred artabræ of fine flour,
"with one thousand four hundred and sixty medimni of wheat,
"and three hundred and seventy-five medimni of salt. And
"these payments I would have fully paid them, as I have sent
"orders to you. I would also have the work about the temple
"finished, and the cloisters, and if there be any thing else that
"ought to be rebuilt. And for the materials of wood, let it
"be brought them out of Judea itself, and out of the other
"countries, and out of Libanus, tax free: and the same I would
"have observed as to those other materials which will be ne-
"cessary, in order to render the temple more glorious. And let
"all of that nation live according to the laws of their own coun-
"try: and let the senate and the priests, and the scribes of the
"temple, and the sacred singers, be discharged from poll-mo-
"ney and the crown tax, and other taxes also. And that the
"city may the sooner recover its inhabitants, I grant a dis-
"charge from taxes for three years to its present inhabitants;
"and to such as shall come to it, until the month Hyperbere-

"tus. We also discharge them for, the future from a third "part of their taxes, that the losses they have sustained may "be repaired. And all those citizens that have been carried "away, and are become slaves, we grant them and their chil-"dren their freedom; and give order that their substance be "restored to them."

4. And these were the contents of this epistle. He also published a decree, through all his kingdom, in honour of the temple, which contained what follows: "It shall be lawful for "no foreigner to come within the limits of the temple round "about; which thing is forbidden also to the Jews, unless to "those who, according to their own custom, have purified "themselves. Nor let any flesh of horses, or of mules, or of "asses, be brought into the city, whether they be wild, or "tame; nor that of leopards, or foxes, or hares, and in ge-"neral, that of any animal which is forbidden for the Jews to "eat. Nor let their skins be brought into it; nor let any such "animal be bred up in the city. Let them only be permitted "to use the sacrifices derived from their forefathers, with "which they have been obliged to make acceptable atonements "to God. And he that transgresseth any of these orders, let him "pay to the priests three thousand drachmæ of silver." Moreover, this Antiochus bare testimony to our piety and fidelity, in an epistle of his, written when he was informed of a sedition in Phrygia and Lydia, at which time he was in the superior provinces, wherein he commanded Zeuxis, the general of his forces, and his most intimate friend, to send some of our nation out of Babylon into Phrygia. The epistle was this:

"*King* ANTIOCHUS *to* ZEUXIS *his father, sendeth greeting.*"

"If you are in health it is well. I also am in health. Ha-"ving been informed that a sedition is arisen in Lydia and "Phrygia, I thought that matter required great care: And "upon advising with my friends what was fit to be done, it "hath been thought proper to remove two thousand families of "Jews, with their effects, out of Mesopotamia and Babylon, "unto the castles and places that lie most convenient; for I am "persuaded that they will be well disposed guardians of our "possessions, because of their piety towards God, and because "I know that my predecessors have borne witness to them, that "they are faithful, and, with alacrity, do what they are desired "to do. I will, therefore, though it be a laborious work, that "thou remove these Jews; under a promise, that they shall be "permitted to use their own laws. And when thou shalt have "brought them to the places fore-mentioned, thou shalt give "every one of their families a place for building their houses,

" and a portion of land for their husbandry, and for the plantation of their vines; and thou shalt discharge them from paying taxes of the fruits of the earth for ten years: and let them " have a proper quantity of wheat for the maintenance of their " servants, until they receive bread corn out of the earth: also " let a sufficient share be given to such as minister to them in " the necessaries of life, that by enjoying the effects of our humanity, they may shew themselves the more willing and " ready about our affairs. Take care likewise of that nation, " as far as thou art able, that they may not have any disturbance given them by any one." Now these testimonials which I have produced, are sufficient to declare the friendship that Antiochus the Great bare to the Jews.

CHAP. IV.

How Antiochus made a league with Ptolemy; and how Onias provoked Ptolemy Euergetes to anger; and how Joseph brought all things right again, and entered into friendship with him; and what other things were done by Joseph, and his son Hyrcanus.

§ 1. After this Antiochus made a friendship and a league with Ptolemy; and gave him his daughter Cleopatra to wife, and yielded up to him Celœsyria, and Samaria, and Judea, and Phenicia, by way of dowry. And upon the division of the taxes between the two kings, all the principal men farmed the taxes of their several countries and collecting the sum that was settled for them, paid the same to the [two] kings. Now at this time the Samaritans were in a flourishing condition, and much distressed the Jews, cutting off parts of their land, and carrying off slaves. This happened when Onias was high priest; for after Eleazar's death, his uncle Manasseh took the priesthood, and after he had ended his life, Onias received that dignity. He was the son of Simon, who was called *the Just*, which Simon was the brother of Eleazar, as I said before. This Onias was one of a little soul, and a great lover of money; and for that reason, because he did not pay the tax of twenty talents of silver, which his forefathers paid to these kings, out of their own estates, he provoked king Ptolemy Euergetes to anger, who was the father of Philopater. Euergetes sent an ambassador to Jerusalem, and complained that Onias did not pay his taxes, and threatened, that if he did not receive them, he would seize upon their land, and send soldiers to live upon it. When the Jews heard this message of the king's, they were confounded: But so sordidly covetous was Onias, that nothing of this nature made him ashamed.

2. There was now one *Joseph*, young in age, but of great reputation among the people of Jerusalem, for gravity, prudence, and justice. His father's name was Tobias; and his mother was the sister of Onias the high priest, who informed him of the coming of the ambassador: for he was then sojourning at a village named * *Phicol*, where he was born. Hereupon he came to the city [Jerusalem], and reproved Onias for not taking care of the preservation of his countrymen, but bringing the nation into dangers, by not paying this money. For which preservation of them, he told him he had received the authority over them, and had been made high priest: But that, in case he was so great a lover of money, as to endure to see his country in danger on that account, and his countrymen suffer the greatest damages, he advised him to go to the king, and petition him to remit either the whole, or part of the sum demanded. Onias's answer was this, that he did not care for his authority, and that he was ready, if the thing were practicable, to lay down his high priesthood; and that he would not go to the king, because he troubled not himself at all about such matters. Joseph then asked him, If he would not give him leave to go ambassador on behalf of the nation? He replied, that he would give him leave. Upon which Joseph went up into the temple; and called the multitude together, to a congregation, and exhorted them not to be disturbed nor affrighted, because of his uncle Onias's carelessness, but desired them to be at rest, and not terrify themselves with fear about it; for he promised them that he would be their ambassador to the king, and persuade him that they had done him no wrong. And when the multitude heard this, they returned thanks to Joseph. So he went down from the temple, and treated Ptolemy's ambassador in an hospitable manner. He also presented him with rich gifts; and feasted him magnificently for many days, and then sent him to the king before him, and told him that he would soon follow him: for he was now more willing to go to the king, by the encouragement of the ambassador, who earnestly persuaded him to come into Egypt; and promised him that he would take care that he should obtain every thing that he desired of Ptolemy, for he was highly pleased with his frank and liberal temper, and with the gravity of his deportment.

3. When Ptolemy's ambassador was come into Egypt, he told the king of the thoughtless temper of Onias; and informed him of the goodness of the disposition of Joseph; and that he was

* The name of this place, *Phicol*, is the very same with that of the chief captain of Abimelech's host, in the days of Abraham, Gen. xxi. 22, and might possibly be the place of that Phicol's nativity or abode, for it seems to have been in the south part of Palestine, as that was.

coming to him, to excuse the multitude, as not having done him any harm, for that he was their patron. In short, he was so very large in his encomiums upon the young man, that he disposed both the king and his wife Cleopatra to have a kindness for him before he came. So Joseph sent to his friends at Samaria, and borrowed money of them; and got ready what was necessary for his journey, garments and cups, and beasts for burthen, which amounted to about twenty thousand drachmæ, and went to Alexandria. Now it happened that at this time all the principal men and rulers went up out of the cities of Syria and Phenicia, to bid for their taxes; for every year the king sold them to the men of the greatest power in every city. So these men saw Joseph journeying on the way, and laughed at him for his poverty and meanness. But when he came to Alexandria, and heard that king Ptolemy was at Memphis, he went up thither to meet with him; which happened as the king was sitting in his chariot, with his wife and with his friend Athenion, who was the very person who had been ambassador at Jerusalem, and been entertained by Joseph. As soon therefore as Athenion saw him, he presently made him known to the king, how good and generous a young man he was. So Ptolemy saluted him first, and desired him to come up into his chariot; and as Joseph sat there, he began to complain of the management of Onias. To which he answered, Forgive him, on account of his age, for thou canst not certainly be unacquainted with this, that old men and infants have their minds exactly alike; but thou shalt have from us, who are young men, every thing thou desirest, and shalt have no cause to complain. With this good humour and pleasantry of the young man, the king was so delighted, that he began already as though he had long experience of him, to have a still greater affection for him, insomuch, that he bade him take his diet in the king's palace, and be a guest at his own table every day. But when the king was come to Alexandria, the principal men of Syria saw him sitting with the king, and were much offended at it.

4. And when the day came on which the king was to let the taxes of the cities to farm, and those that were the principal men of dignity in their several countries were to bid for them, the sum of the taxes together, of Celesyria and Phenicia, and Judea, with Samaria [as they were bidden for], came to eight thousand talents. Hereupon Joseph accused the bidders, as having agreed together to estimate the value of the taxes at too low a rate; and he promised, that he would himself give twice as much for them: but for those who did not pay, he would send the king home their whole substance; for this privilege was sold together with the taxes themselves. The king was pleased

to hear that offer; and because it augmented his revenues, he said he would confirm the sale of the taxes to him. But then he asked him this question, Whether he had any sureties that would be bound for the payment of the money? he answered very pleasantly, I will give such security, and those of persons good and responsible, and which you shall have no reason to distrust. And when he bid him name them, who they were, he replied, I give thee no other persons, O king, for my sureties, than myself, and this thy wife; and you shall be security for both parties. So Ptolemy laughed at the proposal, and granted him the farming of the taxes without any sureties. This procedure was a sore grief to those that came from the cities into Egypt, who were utterly disappointed; and they returned every one to their own country with shame.

5. But Joseph took with him two thousand foot soldiers from the king, for he desired he might have some assistance, in order to force such as were refractory in the cities to pay. And borrowing of the king's friends at Alexandria five hundred talents, he made haste back into Syria. And when he was at Askelon, and demanded the taxes of the people of Askelon, they refused to pay any thing; and affronted him also: upon which he seized upon about twenty of the principal men, and slew them, and gathered what they had together, and sent it all to the king: and informed him what he had done. Ptolemy admired at the prudent conduct of the man, and commended him for what he had done; and gave him leave to do as he pleased. When the Syrians heard of this, they were astonished: and having before them a sad example in the men of Askelon that were slain, they opened their gates, and willingly admitted Joseph, and paid their taxes. And when the inhabitants of Scythopolis attempted to affront him, and would not pay him those taxes which they formerly used to pay, without disputing about them, he slew also the principal men of that city, and sent their effects to the king. By this means he gathered great wealth together, and made vast gains by this farming of the taxes: and he made use of what estate he had thus gotten, in order to support his authority, as thinking it a piece of prudence to keep what had been the occasion and foundation of his present good fortune; and this he did by the assistance of what he was already possessed of, for he privately sent many presents to the king, and to Cleopatra, and to their friends, and to all that were powerful about the court, and thereby purchased their good-will to himself.

6. This good fortune he enjoyed for twenty-two years: and was become the father of seven sons, by one wife: he had also another son, whose name was Hyrcanus, by his brother Solymius's daughter, whom he married on the following occasion.

He once came to Alexandria with his brother, who had along with him a daughter already marriageable, in order to give her in wedlock to some of the Jews of chief dignity there. He then supped with the king, and falling in love with an actress, that was of great beauty, and came into the room where they feasted, he told his brother of it, and entreated him, because a Jew is forbidden by their law to come near to a foreigner, to conceal his offence, and to be kind and subservient to him, and to give him an opportunity of fulfilling his desires. Upon which his brother willingly entertained the proposal of serving him, and adorned his own daughter, and brought her to him by night, and put her into his bed. And Joseph, being disordered with drink, knew not who she was, and so lay with his brother's daughter; and this did he many times and loved her exceedingly, and said to his brother, that he loved this actress so well, that he should run the hazard of his life [if he must part with her], and yet probably the king would not give him leave [to take her with him]. But his brother bid him be in no concern about that matter, and told him, he might enjoy her whom he loved without any danger, and might have her for his wife; and opened the truth of the matter to him, and assured him that he chose rather to have his own daughter abused, than to overlook him, and see him come to [public] disgrace. So Joseph commended him for this his brotherly love; and married his daughter; and by her begat a son, whose name was Hyrcanus, as we said before. And when this his youngest son shewed, at thirteen years old, a mind that was both courageous and wise, and was greatly envied by his brethren, as being of a genius much above them, and such an one as they might well envy, Joseph had once a mind to know which of his sons had the best disposition to virtue, and when he sent them severally to those that had then the best reputation for instructing youth, the rest of his children, by reason of their sloth, and unwillingness to take pains, returned to him foolish and unlearned. After them he sent out the youngest, Hyrcanus, and gave him three hundred yoke of oxen, and bid him go two days journey into the wilderness, and sow the land there, and yet kept back privately the yokes of the oxen that coupled them together. When Hyrcanus came to the place, and found he had no yokes with him, he contemned the drivers of the oxen, who advised him to send home to his father, to bring them some yokes; but he thinking that he ought not to lose his time, while they should be sent to bring him the yokes, he invented a kind of stratagem, and what suited an age older than his own; for he slew ten yoke of the oxen, and distributed their flesh among the labourers, and cut their hides into several pieces, and made him yokes, and yoked the oxen together with them; by which means he sowed

as much land as his father had appointed him to sow, and returned to him. And when he was come back, his father was mightily pleased with his sagacity, and commanded the sharpness of his understanding, and his boldness in what he did. And he still loved him the more, as if he were his only genuine son, while his brethren were much troubled at it.

7. But when one told him that Ptolemy had a son just born, and that all the principal men of Syria, and the other countries subject to him, were to keep a festival, on account of the child's birth-day, and went away in haste with great retinues to Alexandria he was himself indeed hindered from going by old age, but he made trial of his sons, whether any of them would be willing to go to the king. And when the elder sons excused themselves from going, and said, they were not courtiers good enough for such conversation, and advised him to send their brother Hyrcanus, he gladly hearkened to that advice; and called Hyrcanus, and asked him, whether he would go to the king; and whether it was agreeable to him to go or not? And upon his promise that he would go, and his saying that he should not want much money for his journey, because he would live moderately, and that ten thousand drachmæ would be sufficient, he was pleased with his son's prudence. After a little while, the son advised his father not to send his presents to the king from thence, but to give him a letter to his steward at Alexandria, that he might furnish him with money, for purchasing what should be most excellent and most precious. So he thinking that the expense of ten talents would be enough for presents to be made the king; and commending his son as giving him good advice, wrote to Arion his steward, that managed all his money matters at Alexandria; which money was not less than three thousand talents on his account, for Joseph sent the money he received in Syria to Alexandria. And when the day appointed for the payment of the taxes to the king came, he wrote to Arion to pay them. So when the son had asked his father for a letter to this steward, and had received it, he made haste to Alexandria. And when he was gone, his brethren wrote to all the king's friends, that they should destroy him.

8. But when he was come to Alexandria, he delivered his letter to Arion, who asked him how many talents he would have? (hoping he would ask for no more than ten, or a little more,) he said he wanted a thousand talents. At which the steward was angry and rebuked him, as one that intended to live extravagantly; and he let him know how his father had gathered together his estate by pains-taking, and resisting his inclinations, and wished him to imitate the example of his father: he assured him withal, that he would give him but ten talents, and that for a present

to the king also. The son was irritated at this, and threw Arion into prison. But when Arion's wife had informed Cleopatra of this, with her entreaty, that she would rebuke the child for what he had done, (for Arion was in great esteem with her) Cleopatra informed the king of it. And Ptolemy sent for Hyrcanus, and told him, that "he wondered when he was sent to "him by his father, that he had not yet come into his presence, "but had laid the steward in prison." And he gave order, therefore, that he should come to him, and give an account of the reason of what he had done. And they report, that the answer he made to the king's messenger was this: that "there was "a law of his that forbade a child that was born, to taste of the "sacrifice, before he had been at the temple and sacrificed to God. "According to which way of reasoning he did not himself come "to him in expectation of the present he was to make to him, "as to one who had been his father's benefactor: and that he "had punished the slave for disobeying his commands, for that "it mattered not whether a master was little or great; so that "unless we punish such as these, thou thyself mayest also ex-"pect to be despised by thy subjects." Upon hearing this his answer he fell a laughing, and wondered at the great soul of the child.

9. When Arion was apprized that this was the king's disposition, and that he had no way to help himself, he gave the child a thousand talents, and was let out of prison. So after three days were over, Hyrcanus came and saluted the king and queen. They saw him with pleasure, and feasted him in an obliging manner, out of the respect they bare to his father. So he came to the merchants privately, and bought an hundred boys, that had learning, and were in the flower of their ages, each at a talent a-piece; as also he bought an hundred maidens, each at the same price as the other. And when he was invited to feast with the king among the principal men in the country, he sat down the lowest of them all, because he was little regarded, as a child in age still; and this by those who placed every one according to their dignity. Now when all those that sat with him had laid the bones of the several parts on an heap before Hyrcanus, (for they had themselves taken away the flesh belonging to them), till the table where he sat was filled full with them; Trypho, who was the king's jester, and was appointed for jokes and laughter at festivals, who was now asked by the guests that sat at the table [to expose him to laughter]. So he stood by the king, and said "Dost thou not see, my Lord, the bones that lie by Hyrcanus? "by this similitude thou mayest conjecture that his father made "all Syria as bare as he hath made these bones." And the king laughing at what Trypho said, and asking of Hyrcanus, "How

"he came to have so many bones before him?" he replied, "Very rightfully, my lord: for they are dogs that eat the flesh "and the bones together, as these thy guests have done, (looking "in the mean time at those guests), for there is nothing before "them; but they are men that eat the flesh, and cast away the "bones, as I, who am also a man, have now done." Upon which the king admired at his answer, which was so wisely made; and bid them all make an acclamation, as a mark of their approbation of his jest, which was truly a facetious one. On the next day Hyrcanus went to every one of the king's friends, and of the men powerful at court, and saluted them; but still inquired of the servants what present they would make the king on his son's birth-day? and when some said that they would give twelve talents, and that others of greater dignity would every one give according to the quantity of their riches, he pretended to every one to be grieved that he was not able to bring so large a present; for that he had no more than five talents. And when the servants heard what he said, they told their masters, and they rejoiced in the prospect that Joseph would be disapproved, and would make the king angry, by the smallness of his present. When the day came, the others, even those that brought the most, offered the king not above twenty talents; but Hyrcanus gave to every one of the hundred boys, and hundred maidens that he had bought, a talent a-piece, for them to carry, and introduced them, the boys to the king, and the maidens to Cleopatra: every body wondering at the unexpected richness of the presents, even the king and queen themselves. He also presented those that attended about the king with gifts to the value of a great number of talents, that he might escape the danger he was in from them; for to these it was that Hyrcanus's brethren had written to destroy him. Now Ptolemy admired at the young man's magnanimity; and commanded him to ask what gift he pleased. But he desired nothing else to be done for him by the king than to write to his father and brethren about him. So when the king had paid him very great respects, and had given him very large gifts, and had written to his father and his brethren, and all his commanders, and officers about him, he sent him away. But when his brethren heard that Hyrcanus had received such favours from the king, and was returning home with great honour, they went out to meet him, and to destroy him, and that with the privity of their father: for he was angry at him for the [large] sum of money that he bestowed for presents, and so had no concern for his preservation.—However, Joseph concealed the anger he had at his son, out of fear of the king. And when Hyrcanus's brethren came to fight him, he slew many others of those that were with them; as al-

so two of his brethren themselves, but the rest of them escaped to Jerusalem to their father. But when Hyrcanus came to the city, where nobody would receive him, he was afraid for himself, and retired beyond the river Jordan, and there abode, but obliging the Barbarians to pay their taxes.

10. At this time Seleucus, who was called *Soter* reigned over Asia, being the son of Antiochus *the Great.* And [now] Hyrcanus's father Joseph died. He was a good man and of great magnanimity; and brought the Jews out of a state of poverty and meanness, to one that was more splendid. He retained the farm of the taxes of Syria, and Phenicia, and Samaria, twenty-two years. His uncle also, Onias, died [about this time] and left the high priesthood to his son Simeon. And when he was dead, Onias his son succeeded him in that dignity. To him it was that Areus, king of the Lacedemonians, sent an embassage, with an epistle; the copy whereof here follows:

"AREUS *king of the Lacedemonians, to* ONIAS, *sendeth greeting:*"

"We have met with a certain writing, whereby we have "discovered that both the Jews and the Lacedemonians are of "one stock, and are derived from the * kindred of Abraham: It "is but just therefore, that you, who are our brethren, should "send to us about any of your concerns as you please. We "will also do the same thing, and esteem your concerns as our "own; and will look upon our concerns as in common with "yours. Demoteles, who brings you this letter, will bring "your answer back to us. This letter is four-square; and the "seal is an eagle, with a dragon in its claws."

11. And these were the contents of the epistle which was sent from the king of the Lacedemonians. But upon the death of

* Whence it comes that these Lacedemonians declare themselves here to be of kin to the Jews, as derived from the same ancestor Abraham I cannot tell, unless, as Grotius supposes, they were derived from the Dores, that came of the Pelasgi. These are by Herodotus, called *Barbarians,* and perhaps were derived from the Syrians and Arabians, the posterity of Abraham by Keturah. See Antiq. B. XVI. ch. x. sec. 22. Vol. II. and Of the War. B. I. ch. xxvi. sec. 1. vol. III. and Grot. on 1 Maccab. xii. 7. We may farther observe from the recognitions of Clement, that Eliezer of Damascus, the *servant* of Abraham, Gen. xv. 2. and xxiv. was of old by some taken for his *son.* So that if the Lacedemonians were sprung from him, they might think themselves to be of the posterity of Abraham: as well as the Jews who were sprung from Isaac. And perhaps this Eliezer of Damascus is that very Damascus whom Trogus Pompeius, as abridged by Justin, makes the founder of the Jewish nation itself, though he afterwards blunders, and makes Azelus, Adores, Abraham, and Israel, kings of Judea, and successors to this Damascus. It may not be improper to observe farther, that Moses Chorenensis, in his history of the Armenians, informs us, that the nation of the Parthians was also derived from Abraham, by Keturah, and her children.

Joseph, the people grew seditious, on account of his sons; For whereas the elders made war against Hyrcanus, who was the youngest of Joseph's sons, the multitude was divided, but the greater part joined with the elders in this war; as did Simon the high-priest, by reason he was of kin to them. However, Hyrcanus determined not to return to Jerusalem any more, but seated himself beyond Jordan; and was at perpetual war with the Arabians, and slew many of them, and took many of them captives. He also erected a strong castle, and built it entirely of white stone to the very roof; and had animals of a prodigious magnitude engraven upon it. He also drew round it a great and deep canal of water. He also made caves of many furlongs in length, by hollowing a rock that was over against him: and then he made large rooms in it, some for feasting, and some for sleeping and living in. He introduced also a vast quantity of waters which ran along it, and which were very delightful and ornamental in the court. But still he made the entrances at the mouth of the caves so narrow, that no more than one person could enter by them at once: And the reason why he built them after that manner was a good one; it was for his own preservation, lest he should be besieged by his brethren and run the hazard of being caught by them. Moreover, he built courts of greater magnitude than ordinary, which he adorned with vastly large gardens. And when he had brought the place to this state, he named it *Tyre*. This place is between Arabia and Judea, beyond Jordan, not far from the country of Heshbon. And he ruled over those parts for seven years, even all the time that Seleucus was king of Syria. But when he was dead his brother Antiochus, who was called *Epiphanes*, took the kingdom. Ptolemy also the king of Egypt, died, who was besides called *Epiphanes*. He left two sons, and both young in age; the elder of which was called *Philometer*, and the youngest *Physcon*. As for Hyrcanus, when he saw that Antiochus had a great army, and feared lest he should be caught by him, and brought to punishment for what he had done to the Arabians, he ended his life, and slew himself with his own hand; while Antiochus seized upon all his substance.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.

CHAP. V.

How, upon the quarrels of the Jews one against another about the high priesthood, Antiochus made an expedition against Jerusalem, took the city and pillaged the temple, and distressed the Jews: As also how many of the Jews forsook the laws of their country; and how the Samaritans followed the customs of the Greeks, and named their temple at mount Gerizzim, the temple of Jupiter Hellenius.

1. ABOUT this time, upon the death of Onias the high priest, they gave the high priesthood to Jesus's brother; for that son which Onias left [or Onias IV.] was yet but an infant: and, in its proper place, we will inform the reader of all the circumstances that befell this child. But this Jesus, who was the brother of Onias, was deprived of the high priesthood by the king, who was angry with him, and gave it to his younger brother, whose name also was Onias, for Simon had these three sons, to each of which the priesthood came as we have * already informed the reader. This Jesus changed his name to *Jason*; but Onias was called *Menelaus*. Now as the former high priest, Jesus, raised a sedition against Menelaus, who was ordained after him, the multitude were divided between them both. And the sons of Tobias took the part of Menelaus, but the greater part of the people assisted Jason: and by that means Menelaus, and the sons of Tobias were distressed, and retired to Antiochus, and informed him, that they were desirous to leave the laws of their country, and the Jewish way of living according to them, and to follow the king's laws, and the Grecian way of living: Wherefore they desired his permission to build them a † Gymnasium at Jerusalem. And when he had

* We have hitherto had but a few of those many citations where Josephus says, that he had elsewhere formerly treated of many things, of which yet his present books have not a syllable. Our commentators have hitherto been able to give no tolerable account of these citations, which are far too numerous, and that usually in all his copies, both Greek and Latin, to be supposed later interpolations, which is almost all that has been hitherto said upon this occasion. What I have to say farther is this, that we have but very few of these references *before*, and very many *in* and *after* the history of Antiochus Epiphanes; and that Josephus's first book, the Hebrew or Chaldee, as well as the Greek history of the Jewish war, long since lost, began with that very history, so that the references are most probably made to that edition of the seven Books of the War. See several other examples, besides those in the two sections before us, in Antiq. B. XIII. chap. ii sect. 1, 4. vol. II. and chap. iv. sect. 6, 8. chap. v. sect. 6, 11. chap. viii. sect. 4. and chap. xiii. sect. 4, 5. and Antiq. B. XVIII chap. ii. sect. 5. vol. III.

† This word *Gymnasium*, properly denotes a place where the exercises were performed *naked*, which because it would naturally distinguish circumcised Jews from

given them leave, they also hid the circumcision of their genitals, that even when they were naked, they might appear to be Greeks. Accordingly they left off all the customs that belonged to their own country, and imitated the practices of the other nations.

2. Now Antiochus, upon the agreeable situation of the affairs of his kingdom, resolved to make an expedition against Egypt, both because he had a desire to gain it, and because he contemned the son of Ptolemy, as now weak, and not yet of abilities to manage affairs of such consequence; so he came with great forces to Pelusium, and circumvented Ptolemy Philometer by treachery, and seized upon Egypt. He then came to the places about Memphis; and when he had taken them, he made haste to Alexandria, in hopes of taking it by siege, and of subduing Ptolemy, who reigned there. But he was driven not only from Alexandria, but out of all Egypt, by the declarations of the Romans, who charged him to let that country alone; according as I have elsewhere formerly declared. I will now give a particular account of what concerns this king, how he subdued Judea and the temple; for in my former work I mentioned those things very briefly, and have therefore now thought it necessary to go over that history again, and that with greater accuracy.

3. * King Antiochus returning out of Egypt, for fear of the Romans, made an expedition against the city Jerusalem; and when he was there, in the hundred forty and third year of the kingdom of the Seleucidæ, he took the city without fighting, those of his own party opening the gates to him. And when he had gotten possession of Jerusalem he slew many of the opposite party; and when he had plundered it of a great deal of money, he returned to Antioch.

4. Now it came to pass, after two years, in the hundred forty and fifth year, on the twenty-fifth day of that month, which is by us called *Chasleu*, and by the Macedonians *Apelleus*, in the hundred and fifty-third olympiad, that the king came up to Jerusalem, and pretending peace, he got possession of the city by treachery: at which time he spared not so much as those that

uncircumcised Gentiles, these Jewish apostates endeavoured to appear uncircumcised, by means of a chirurgical operation, hinted at by St. Paul, 1 Cor vii. 18. and described by Celsus, B. VII. chap. xxv. as Dr. Hudson here informs us.

* Hereabouts Josephus begins to follow the first book of the Maccabees, a most excellent and most authentic history; and accordingly it is here, with great fidelity and exactness, abridged by him; between whose present copies there seem to be fewer variations than in any other sacred Hebrew book of the Old Testament whatsoever, (for this book also was originally written in Hebrew), which is very natural, because it was written so much nearer to the times of Josephus than the rest were.

admitted him into it, on account of the riches that lay in the temple; but led by his covetous inclination, (for he saw there was in it a great deal of gold, and many ornaments that had been dedicated to it of very great value,) and in order to plunder its wealth, he ventured to break the league he had made. So he left the temple bare; and took away the golden candlesticks, and the golden altar [of incense,] and table [of shew-bread,] and the altar [of burnt-offering;] and did not abstain from even the vails, which were made of fine linen and scarlet. He also emptied it of its secret treasures, and left nothing at all remaining; and by these means cast the Jews into great lamentation, for he forbade them to offer those daily sacrifices which they used to offer to God, according to the law. And when he had pillaged the whole city, some of the inhabitants he slew, and some he carried captive, together with their wives and children, so that the multitude of those captives that were taken alive amounted to about ten thousand. He also burnt down the finest buildings; and when he had overthrown the city walls, he built * a citadel in the lower part of the city, for the place was high, and overlooked the temple, on which account he fortified it with high walls and towers; and put into it a garrison of Macedonians. However, in that citadel dwelt the impious and wicked part of the [Jewish] multitude, from whom it proved that the citizens suffered many and sore calamities. And when the king had built an idol altar upon God's altar, he slew swine upon it, and so offered a sacrifice neither according to the law, nor the Jewish religious worship in that country. He also compelled them to forsake the worship which they paid their own God, and to adore those whom he took to be gods, and made them build temples, and raise idol altars in every city and village, and offer swine upon them every day. He also commanded them not to circumcise their sons, and threatened to punish any that should be found to have transgressed his injunctions. He also appointed overseers, who should compel them to do what he commanded. And indeed many Jews there were who complied with the king's commands, either voluntarily or out of fear of the penalty that was denounced: but the best men, and those of the noblest souls, did not regard him, but did pay a greater respect to the customs

* This *Citadel*, of which we have such frequent mention in the following history, both in the Maccabees and in Josephus, seems to have been a castle built on an hill, lower than mount Zion, though upon its skirts, and higher than mount Moriah, between them both; which hill the enemies of the Jews now got possession of, and built on it this citadel and fortified it, till a good while afterwards the Jews regained it, and levelled the hill itself with the common ground, that their enemies might no more recover it, and might thence overlook the temple itself, and do them such mischief as they had long undergone from it, Antiq. B. XIII. chap. vi. § 6. vol. II.

of their country, than concern as to the punishment which he threatened to the disobedient; on which account they every day underwent great miseries, and bitter torments, for they were whipped with rods, and their bodies were torn to pieces, and were crucified, while they were still alive, and breathed: They also strangled those women and their sons whom they had circumcised, as the king had appointed, hanging their sons about their necks as they were upon the crosses. And if there were any sacred book of the law found, it was destroyed, and those with whom they were found, miserably perished also.

5. When the Samaritans saw the Jews under these sufferings, they no longer confessed that they were of their kindred, nor that the temple on mount Gerizzim belonged to Almighty God. This was according to their nature, as we have already shown. And they now said, that they were a colony of Medes and Persians: and indeed they were a colony of theirs. So they sent ambassadors to Antiochus, and an epistle; whose contents are these: "To king Antiochus the god, Epiphanes, a memorial "from the Sidonians, who live at Shechem. Our forefathers, "upon certain frequent plagues, and as following a certain an-"cient superstition, had a custom of observing that day which "by the Jews is called the *Sabbath.** And when they had "erected a temple at the mountain called *Gerizzim*, though "without a name, they offered upon it the proper sacrifices. "Now, upon the just treatment of these wicked Jews, those "that manage their affairs, supposing that we were of kin to "them, and practised as they do, make us liable to the same ac-"cusations, although we be originally Sidonians, as is evident "from the public records. We therefore beseech thee, our be-"nefactor and saviour, to give order to Appollonius, the go-"vernor of this part of the country, and to Nicanor, the pro-"curator of thy affairs, to give us no disturbance, nor to lay to "our charge what the Jews are accused for, since we are aliens "from their nation, and from their customs; but let our tem-"ple, which at present hath no name at all, be named, *The* "*temple of Jupiter Hellenius.* If this were once done, we should "be no longer disturbed, but should be more intent on our own "occupation with quietness, and so bring in a greater revenue "to thee." When the Samaritans had petitioned for this, the king sent them back the following answer, in an epistle: "King "Antiochus to Nicanor. The Sidonians, who live at Shechem, "have sent me the memorial inclosed. When therefore we "were advising with our friends about it, the messengers sent

* This allegation of the Samaritans is remarkable, that though they were not Jews, yet did they, from ancient times, observe the Sabbath-day, and as they elsewhere pretend, the Sabbatic year also, Antiq. B. XII. chap. vii. § 6. vol. II.

"by them represented to us, that they are no way concerned "with accusations which belong to the Jews, but choose to live "after the customs of the Greeks. Accordingly we declare "them free from such accusations, and order that, agreeable to "their petition, their temple be named, *The temple of Jupiter* "*Hellenius.*" He also sent the like epistle to Appollonius, the governor of that part of the country, in the forty-sixth year, and the eighteenth day of the month Hecatombeon.

CHAP. VI.

How, upon Antiochus's prohibition to the Jews to make use of the laws of their country, Mattathias the son of Asmoneus, alone despised the king, and overcame the generals of Antiochus's army; as also concerning the death of Mattathias, and the succession of Judas.

§ 1. Now at this time there was one whose name was Mattathias, who dwelt at Modin, the son of John, the son of Simeon, the son of Asmoneus, a priest of the order of Joarib, and a citizen of Jerusalem. He had five sons, John, who was called Gaddis, and Simon who was called Matthes, and Judas who was called Maccabeus,* and Eleazar, who was called Auran, and Jonathan, who was called Apphus. Now this Mattathias lamented to his children the sad state of their affairs, and the ravage made in the city, and the plundering of the temple, and the calamities the multitude were under; and he told them, that it was better for them to die for the laws of their country, than to live so ingloriously as they then did.

2. But when those that were appointed by the king were come to Modin, that they might compel the Jews to do what they were commanded; and to enjoin those that were there to offer sacrifice, as the king had commanded, they desired that Mattathias, a person of the greatest character among them, both on other accounts, and particularly on account of such a numerous and so deserving a family of children, would begin the sacrifice, because his fellow-citizens would follow his example, and because such a procedure would make him honoured by the king. But Mattathias said, "he would not do it; and that if all the

* That this appellation of *Maccabee* was not first of all given to Judas Maccabeus, nor was derived from any initial letters of the Hebrew words on his banner, *Mi Kamoka Be Elim, Jehovah? Who is like unto thee among the gods, O Jehovah?* Exod. xv. 11. as the modern Rabbins vainly pretend, see Authent. Rec. part I. p. 205, 206. Only we may note, by the way, that the original name of these Maccabees, and their posterity, was *Asmonians;* which was derived from Asmoneus, the great-grand-father of Mattathias, as Josephus here informs us.

"other nations would obey the commands of Antiochus, either "out of fear, or to please him, yet would not he nor his sons "leave the religious worship of their country." But as soon as he had ended his speech, there came one of the Jews into the midst of them, and sacrificed, as Antiochus had commanded. At which Mattathias had great indignation, and ran upon him violently, with his sons, who had swords with them, and slew both the man himself that sacrificed, and Apelles the king's general, who compelled them to sacrifice, with a few of his soldiers. He also overthrew the idol altar; and cried out, "If, said he, any "one be zealous for the laws of his country, and for the worship "of God, let him follow me." And when he had said this, he made haste into the desert with his sons, and left all his substance in the village. Many others did the same also, and fled with their children and wives into the desert, and dwelt in caves. But when the king's generals heard this, they took all the forces they then had in the citadel at Jerusalem, and pursued the Jews into the desert; and when they had overtaken them, they in the first place endeavoured to persuade them to repent, and to choose what was most for their advantage, and not put them to the necessity of using them according to the law of war. But when they would not comply with their persuasions, but continued to be of a different mind, they fought against them on the Sabbath-day, and they burnt them, as they were in the caves, without resistance, and without so much as stopping up the entrances of the caves. And they avoided to defend themselves on that day, because they were not willing to break in upon the honour they owed the Sabbath, even in such distresses, for our law requires that we rest upon that day. There were about a thousand, with their wives and children, who were smothered, and died in these caves; but many of those that escaped joined themselves to Mattathias, and appointed him to be their ruler, who taught them to fight, even on the Sabbath-day; and told them, that "unless "they would do so, they would become their own enemies, by "observing the law [so rigorously,] while their adversaries would "still assault them on this day, and they would not then defend "themselves, and that nothing could then hinder but they must "all perish without fighting." This speech persuaded them. And this rule continues among us to this day, that if there be a necessity, we may fight on Sabbath-days. So Mattathias got a great army about him, and overthrew their idol altars, and slew those that broke the laws, even all that he could get under his power, for many of them were dispersed among the nations round about them for fear of him. He also commanded, that those boys which were not yet circumcised should be circumcised now; and he drove those away that were appointed to hinder such their circumcision.

3. But when he had ruled one year, and was fallen into a distemper, he called for his sons, and set them round about him, and said, "O my sons, I am going the way of all the earth, and I "recommend to you my resolution, and beseech you not to be "negligent in keeping it, but to be mindful of the desires of him "who begat you, and brought you up, and to preserve the cus-"toms of your country, and to recover your ancient form of go-"vernment, which is in danger of being overturned, and not to "be carried away with those that. either by their own inclina-"tion, or out of necessity, betray it, but to become such sons as "are worthy of me; to be above all force and necessity, and so "to dispose your souls, as to be ready, when it shall be necessary, "to die for your laws, as sensible of this by just reasoning, that "if God see that you are so disposed he will not overlook you, "but will have a great value for your virtue, and will restore "to you again what you have lost. and will return to you that "freedom in which you shall live quietly, and enjoy your own "customs. Your bodies are mortal, and subject to fate, but "they receive a sort of immortality, by the remembrance of "what actions they have done. And I would have you so in "love with this immortality, that you may pursue after glory; "and that, when you have undergone the greatest difficulties, "you may not scruple, for such things, to lose your lives. I "exhort you, especially, to agree one with another; and in what "excellency any one of you exceeds another, to yield to him so "far, and by that means to reap the advantage of every one's own "virtues. Do you then esteem Simon as your father, because "he is a man of extraordinary prudence, and to be governed "by him in what counsels he gives you. Take Maccabeus "for the general of your army, because of his courage and "strength, for he will avenge your nation, and will bring ven-"geance on your enemies. Admit among you the righteous "and religious, and augment their power."

4. When Mattathias had thus discoursed to his sons, and had prayed to God to be their assistant, and to recover to the people their former constitution, he died a little afterward, and was buried at Modin; all the people making great lamentation for him. Whereupon his son Judas took upon him the administration of public affairs, in the hundred forty and sixth year: and thus by the ready asistance of his brethren, and of others, Judas cast their enemies out of the country, and put those of their own country to death who had transgressed its laws, and purified the land of all the pollutions that were in it.

CHAP. VII.

How Judas overthrew the forces of Appollonius and Seron, and killed the generals of their armies themselves; and how, when, a little while afterward, Lysias and Gorgias were beaten, he went up to Jerusalem, and purified the temple.

§ 1. When Appollonius, the general of the Samaritan forces heard this, he took his army, and made haste to go against Judas; who met him, and joined battle with him, and beat him, and slew many of his men, and among them Apollonius himself, their general, whose sword being that which he happened to wear, he seized upon, and kept for himself; but he wounded more than he slew, and took a great deal of prey from the enemies' camp, and went his way. But when Seron, who was general of the army of Celesyria, heard that many had joined themselves to Judas, and that he had about him an army sufficient for fighting, and for making war, he determined to make an expedition against him, as thinking it became him to endeavour to punish those that transgressed the king's injunctions. He then got together an army as large as he was able, and joined it to the runagate and wicked Jews, and came against Judas. He came as far as Bethhoron, a village of Judea, and there pitched his camp: upon which Judas met him; and when he intended to give him battle, he saw that his soldiers were backward to fight, because their number was small, and because they wanted food, for they were fasting, he encouraged them, and said to them, that "victory and conquest of enemies is not derived from the multitude in armies, but in the exercise of piety towards God; "and that they had the plainest instances in their forefathers, "who by their righteousness, and exerting themselves on behalf "of their own laws, and their own children, had frequently conquered many ten thousands, for innocence is the strongest army." By this speech he induced his men to contemn the multitude of the enemy, and to fall upon Seron. And upon joining battle with him, he beat the Syrians; and when their general fell among the rest, they all run away with speed, as thinking that to be their best way of escaping. So he pursued them unto the plain, and slew about eight hundred of the enemy, but the rest escaped to the region which lay near to the sea.

2. When king Antiochus heard of these things, he was very angry at what had happened; so he got together all his own army, with many mercenaries, whom he had hired from the islands, and took them with him, and prepared to break into Judea, about the beginning of the spring. But when, upon his muster-

ing his soldiers, he perceived that his treasures were deficient, and there was a want of money in them, for all the taxes were not paid, by reason of the seditions there had been among the nations, he having been so magnanimous and so liberal, that what he had was not sufficient for him, he therefore resolved first to go into Persia, and collect the taxes of that country. Hereupon he left one whose name was Lysias, who was in great repute with him, governor of the kingdom, as far as the bounds of Egypt, and of the lower Asia, and reaching from the river Euphrates, and committed to him a certain part of his forces, and of his elephants, and charged him to bring up his son Antiochus with all possible care, until he came back; and that he should conquer Judea, and take its inhabitants for slaves, and utterly destroy Jerusalem, and abolish the whole nation. And when king Antiochus had given these things in charge to Lysias, he went into Persia: and in the hundred and forty-seventh year he passed over Euphrates, and went to the superior provinces.

3. Upon this Lysias chose Ptolemy, the son of Dorymenes, and Nicanor, and Gorgias, very potent men among the king's friends, and delivered to them forty thousand foot soldiers, and seven thousand horsemen, and sent them against Judea, who came as far as the city Emmaus, and pitched their camp in the plain country. There came also to them auxiliaries out of Syria, and the country round about; as also many of the runagate Jews.—And besides these came some merchants to buy those that should be carried captives, (having bonds with them to bind those that should be made prisoners), with that silver and gold which they were to pay for their price. And when Judas saw their camp, and how numerous their enemies were, he persuaded his own soldiers to be of good courage; and exhorted them to place their hopes of victory in God, and to make supplication to him, according to the custom of their country, clothed in sackcloth; and to shew what was their usual habit of supplication in the greatest dangers, and thereby to prevail with God to grant you the victory over your enemies. So he set them in their ancient order of battle used by their forefathers, under their captains of thousands, and other officers; and dismissed such as were newly married, as well as those that had newly gained possessions, that they might not fight in a cowardly manner, out of an inordinate love of life, in order to enjoy those blessings. When he had thus disposed his soldiers, he encouraged them to fight by the following speech, which he made to them: "O my fellow-soldiers, no "other time remains more opportune than the present for cou-"rage, and contempt of dangers; for if you now fight manful-"ly you may recover your liberty, which, as it is a thing of "itself agreeable to all men, so it proves to be to us much more

" desirable, by its affording us the liberty of worshipping God. " Since therefore you are in such circumstances at present, that " you must either recover that liberty, and so regain an happy " and blessed way of living, which is that according to our laws " and customs of our country, or to submit to the most op- " probrious sufferings; nor will any seed of your nation remain " if you be beat in this battle. Fight, therefore, manfully; and " suppose that you must die, though you do not fight. But be- " lieve, that besides such glorious rewards as those of the liber- " ty of your country, of your laws, of your religion, you shall " then obtain everlasting glory. Prepare yourselves therefore, " and put yourselves into such an agreeable posture, that you " may be ready to fight with the enemy as soon as it is day to- " morrow morning."

4. And this was the speech which Judas made to encourage them. But when the enemy sent Gorgias, with five thousand foot, and one thousand horse, that he might fall upon Judas by night, and had for that purpose certain of the runagate Jews as guides, the son of Mattathias perceived it, and resolved to fall upon those enemies that were in their camp, now their forces were divided. When they had therefore supped in good time, and had left many fires in their camp he marched all night to those enemies that were at Emmaus; so that when Gorgias found no enemy in their camp, but suspected that they were retired and had hidden themselves among the mountains, he resolved to go and seek them wheresoever they were. But about break of day, Judas appeared to those enemies that were at Emmaus, with only three thousand men, and those ill armed, by reason of their poverty, and when he saw the enemy very well and skilfully fortified in their camp, he encouraged the Jews, and told them " that they ought to fight, though it were with their " naked bodies, for that God had sometimes of old given such " men strength, and that against such as were more in number, " and were armed also, out of regard to their great courage." So he commanded the trumpeters to sound for the battle: and by thus falling upon the enemies when they did not expect it, and thereby astonishing and disturbing their minds, he slew many of those that resisted him, and went on pursuing the rest as far as Gadara, and the plains of Idumea, and Ashdod, and Jamnia: and of these there fell about three thousand. Yet did Judas exhort his soldiers not to be too desirous of the spoils, for that still they must have a contest and a battle with Gorgias, and the forces that were with him; but that when they had once overcome them, then they might securely plunder the camp, because they were the only enemies remaining, and they expected no others. And just as he was speaking to his soldiers, Gorgias's men look-

ed down into that army, which they left in their camp, and saw that it was overthrown; and the camp burnt; for the smoke that arose from it shewed them, even when they were a great way off, what had happened. When therefore those that were with Gorgias understood that things were in this posture, and perceived that those that were with Judas were ready to fight them, they also were affrighted, and put to flight; but then Judas, as though he had already beaten Gorgias's soldiers without fighting, returned and seized on the spoils. He took a great quantity of gold and silver, and purple, and blue, and then returned home with joy, and singing hymns to God for their good success; for this victory greatly contributed to the recovery of their liberty.

5. Hereupon Lysias was confounded at the defeat of the army which he had sent, and the next year he got together sixty thousand chosen men. He also took five thousand horsemen, and fell upon Judea; and he went up to the hill country of Bethsur, a village of Judea, and pitched his camp there, where Judas met him with ten thousand men; and when he saw the great number of his enemies, he prayed to God, that he would assist him, and joined battle with the first of the enemy that appeared, and beat them, and slew about five thousand of them, and thereby became terrible to the rest of them. Nay, indeed, Lysias observing the great spirit of the Jews, how they were prepared to die rather than lose their liberty, and being afraid of their desperate way of fighting, as if it were real strength, he took the rest of the army back with him, and returned to Antioch, where he listed foreigners into the service, and prepared to fall upon Judea with a greater army.

6. When therefore the generals of Antiochus's armies had been beaten so often, Judas assembled the people together, and told them, That "after these many victories, which God had "given them, they ought to go up to Jerusalem, and purify the "temple, and offer the appointed sacrifices." But as soon as he, with the whole multitude, was come to Jerusalem, and found the temple deserted, and its gates burnt down, and plants growing in the temple of their own accord, on account of its desertion, he and those that were with him began to lament, and were quite confounded at the sight of the temple; so he chose out some of his soldiers and gave them order to fight against those guards that were in the citadel, until he should have purified the temple. When therefore he had carefully purged it, and had brought in new vessels, the candlestick, the table [of shew-bread], and the altar [of incense], which were made of gold, he hung up the vails at the gates, and added doors to them. He also took down the altar [of burnt-offering], and built a new one of stones that he gathered together, and not of such as were

hewn with iron tools. So on the five and twentieth day of the month Casleu, which the Macedonians call *Apelleus*, they lighted the lamps that were on the candlestick, and offered incense upon the [altar of incense], and laid the loaves upon the table [of shew-bread], and offered burnt-offerings upon the new altar [of burnt-offering]. Now it so fell out, that these things were done on the very same day on which their divine worship had fallen off, and was reduced to a profane and common use, after three years' time; for so it was, that the temple was made desolate by Antiochus, and so continued for three years. This desolation happened to the temple in the hundred forty and fifth year, on the twenty-fifth day of the month Apelleus, and on the hundred fifty and third Olympiad: but it was dedicated a-new, on the same day, the twenty-fifth of the month Apelleus, on the hundred and forty-eight year, and on the hundred and fifty-fourth Olympiad. And this declaration came to pass according to the prophecy of Daniel which was given four hundred and eight years before; for he declared, that the Macedonians would dissolve that worship [for some time.]

7. Now Judas celebrated the festival of the restoration of the sacrifices of the temple for eight days; and omitted no sort of pleasures thereon; but he feasted them upon very rich and splendid sacrifices; and he honoured God, and delighted them by hymns and psalms. Nay, they were so very glad at the revival of their customs, when, after a long time of intermission, they unexpectedly had regained the freedom of their worship, that they made it a law for their posterity, that they should keep a festival on account of the restoration of their temple worship, for eight days. And from that time to this we celebrate this festival, and call it *Lights*. I suppose the reason was, because this liberty beyond our hopes appeared to us; and that thence was the name given to the festival. Judas also rebuilt the walls round about the city; and reared towers of great height against the incursions of enemies; and set guards therein. He also fortified the city Bethshura, that it might serve as a citadel against any distresses that might come from our enemies.

CHAP. VIII.

How Judas subdued the nations round about; and how Simon beat the people of Tyre and Ptolemais; and how Judas overcame Timotheus, and forced him to fly away, and did many other things, after Joseph and Azarias had been beaten.

§ 1. WHEN these things were over, the nations round about the Jews were very uneasy at the revival of their power,

and rose up together, and destroyed many of them, as gaining advantage over them by laying snares for them, and making secret conspiracies against them. Judas made perpetual expeditions against these men, and endeavoured to restrain them from those incursions, and to prevent the mischiefs they did to the Jews. So he fell upon the Idumeans, the posterity of Esau, at Acrabattene, and slew a great many of them, and took their spoils. He also shut up the sons of Bean, that laid wait for the Jews, and he sat down about them, and besieged them, and burnt their towers, and destroyed the men [that were in them]. After this he went thence in haste against the Ammonites, who had a great and a numerous army; of which Timotheus was the commander. And when he had subdued them, he seized on the city Jazer, and took their wives and their children captives, and burnt the city, and then returned into Judea. But when the neighbouring nations understood that he was returned, they got together in great numbers, in the land of Gilead, and came against those Jews that were at their borders, who then fled to the garrison of Dametha; and sent to Judas to inform him that Timotheus was endeavouring to take the place whither they were fled. And as these epistles were reading, there came other messengers out of Galilee, who informed him that the inhabitants of Ptolemais, and of Tyre and Sidon, and strangers of Galilee, were gotten together.

2. Accordingly Judas, upon considering what was fit to be done, with relation to the necessity both these cases required, gave order that Simon his brother should take three thousand chosen men, and go to the assistance of the Jews in Galilee, whilst he and another of his brothers, Jonathan, made haste into the land of Gilead, with eight thousand soldiers. And he left Joseph, the son of Zacharias, and Azarius, to be over the rest of the forces; and charged them to keep Judea very carefully, and to fight no battles with any persons whomsoever until his return. Accordingly, Simon went into Galilee, and fought the enemy, and put them to flight, and pursued them to the very gates of Ptolemais, and slew about three thousand of them; and took the spoils of those that were slain, and those Jews whom they had made captives, with their baggage; and then returned home.

3. Now as for Judas Maccabeus, and his brother Jonathan, they passed over the river Jordan; and when they had gone three days' journey, they light upon the Nabateans, who came to meet them peaceably, and who told them how the affairs of those in the land of Gilead stood; and how many of them were in distress, and driven into garrisons, and into the cities of Galilee: and exhorted him to make haste to go against the foreign-

ers, and to endeavour to save his own countrymen out of their hands. To this exhortation Judas hearkened and returned into the wilderness; and in the first place fell upon the inhabitants of Bosor, and took the city, and beat the inhabitants, and destroyed all the males, and all that were able to fight, and burnt the city. Nor did he stop even when night came on, but he journeyed in it to the garrison where the Jews happened to be then shut up, and where Timotheus lay round the place with his army: and Judas came upon the city in the morning; and when he found that the enemy were making an assault upon the walls, and that some of them brought ladders, on which they might get upon those walls, and that others brought engines to [batter them], he bid the trumpeter to sound his trumpet, and he encouraged his soldiers cheerfully to undergo dangers for the sake of their brethren and kindred; he also parted his army into three bodies, and fell upon the backs of their enemies. But when Timotheus's men perceived that it was Maccabeus that was upon them, of both whose courage and good success in war they had formerly had sufficient experience, they were put to flight; but Judas followed them with his army, and slew about eight thousand of them. He then turned aside to a city of the foreigners called *Malle*, and took it, and slew all the males, and burnt the city itself. He then removed from thence, and overthrew Caspeom, and Bosor, and many other cities of the land of Gilead.

4. But not long after this Timotheus prepared a great army, and took many others as auxiliaries, and induced some of the Arabians, by the promise of rewards, to go with him in this expedition, and came with his army beyond the brook, over against the city Raphon. And he encouraged his soldiers, if it came to a battle with the Jews, to fight courageously, and to hinder their passing over the brook; for he said to them beforehand, That "if they come over it, we shall be beaten." And when Judas heard that Timotheus prepared himself to fight, he took all his own army, and went in haste against Timotheus his enemy; and when he had passed over the brook, he fell upon his enemies, and some of them met him, whom he slew, and others of them he so terrified, that he compelled them to throw down their arms, and fly; and some of them escaped, but some of them fled to what was called the temple at Carnaim, and hoped thereby to preserve themselves; but Judas took the city, and slew them, and burnt the temple, and so used several ways of destroying his enemies.

5. When he had done this, he gathered the Jews together, with their children, and wives, and the substance that belonged to them, and was going to bring them back into Judea: but as soon as he was come to a certain city, whose name was *Ephron*,

that lay upon the road, (and as it was not possible for him to go any other way, so he was not willing to go back again), he then sent to the inhabitants, and desired that they would open their gates, and permit them to go on their way through the city, for they had stopped up the gates with stones, and cut off their passage through it. And when the inhabitants of Ephron would not agree to this proposal, he encouraged those that were with him, and encompassed the city round, and besieged it, and lying round it by day and night, took the city, and slew every male in it, and burnt it all down, and so obtained a way through it; and the multitude of those that were slain was so great, that they went over the dead bodies. So they came over Jordan, and arrived at the great plain, over against which is situate the city Bethshan, which is called by the Greeks * *Scythopolis*. And going away hastily from thence, they came into Judea, singing psalms and hymns as they went, and indulging such tokens of mirth as are usual in triumphs upon victory. They also offered thank-offerings, both for their good success, and for the preservation of their army, for † not one of the Jews was slain in these battles.

6. But as to Joseph, the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, whom Judas left generals [of the rest of the forces] at the same time when in Galilee, fighting against the people of Ptolemais, and Judas himself, and his brother Jonathan, were in the land of Gilead, did these men also effect the glory of being courageous generals in war, in order whereto they took the army that was under their command, and came to Jamnia. There Gorgias, the general of the forces of Jamnia, met them; and upon joining battle with him, they lost ‡ two thousand of their army, and fled away, and were pursued to the very borders of Judea. And this misfortune befell them by their disobedience to what injunctions Judas had given them, "Not to fight with any one before his return." For besides the rest of Judas's sagacious counsels, one

* The reason why Bethshan was called *Scythopolis*, is well known from Herodotus, B. I. p. 105, and Syncellus, p. 214. that the Scythians, when they over-ran Asia in the days of Josiah, seized on this city, and kept it as long as they continued in Asia, from which time it retained the name of *Scythopolis*, or the *city of the Scythians*.

† This most providential preservation of all the religious Jews in this expedition, which was according to the will of God, is observable often among God's people the Jews; and somewhat very like it in the changes of the four monarchies, which wese also providential. See Prideaux at the years 331, 333, and 334.

‡ Here is another great instance of providence, that when, even at the very time that Simon, and Judas, and Jonathan, were so miraculously preserved, and blessed in the just defence of their laws and religion, these other generals of the Jews, who went to fight for honour, in a vain glorious way, and without any commission from God, or the family he had raised up to deliver them, were miserably disappointed and defeated. See 1 Maccab. v. 61, 62.

may well wonder at this concerning the misfortune that befell the forces commanded by Joseph and Azarias, which he understood would happen, if they broke any of the injunctions he had given them. But Judas and his brethren, did not leave off fighting with the Idumeans, but pressed upon them on all sides, and took from them the city of Hebron, and demolished all its fortifications, and set all its towers on fire, and burnt the country of the foreigners, and the city Marissa. They came also to Ashdod, and took it, and laid it waste, and took away a great deal of the spoils and prey that were in it, and returned to Judea.

CHAP. IX.

Concerning the death of Antiochus Epiphanes. How Antiochus Eupator fought against Judas, and besieged him in the temple, and afterwards made peace with him and departed. Of Alcimus and Onias.

§ 1. ABOUT this time it was that king Antiochus, as he was going over the upper countries, heard, that there was a very rich city in Persia, called *Elymais;* and therein a very rich temple of Diana, and that it was full of all sorts of donations dedicated to it; as also weapons and breastplates, which, upon inquiry, he found had been left there by Alexander, the son of Philip, king of Macedonia. And being incited by these motives, he went in haste to Elymais, and assaulted it, and besieged it. But as those that were in it were not terrified at his assault, nor at his siege, but opposed him very courageously, he was beaten off his hopes; for they drove him away from the city, and went out and pursued after him; insomuch that he fled away as far as Babylon, and lost a great many of his army. And when he was grieving for this disappointment, some persons told him of the defeat of his commanders whom he had left behind him to fight against Judea, and what strength the Jews had already gotten: When this concern about these affairs was added to the former, he was confounded, and by the anxiety he was in, fell into a distemper, which, as it lasted a great while, and as his pains increased upon him, so he at length perceived he should die in a little time; so he called his friends to him, and told them, that his distemper was severe upon him; and confessed withal, that this calamity was sent upon him for the miseries he had brought upon the Jewish nation, while he plundered their temple, and contemned their God, and when he had said this, he gave up the ghost. Whence one may wonder at Polybius of Megalopolis, who, though otherwise a good man, yet saith, That " Antiochus died because he had a purpose to plunder

"the temple of Diana in Persia;" for the * purposing to do a thing, but not actually doing it, is not worthy of punishment. But if Polybius could think, that Antiochus thus lost his life on that account, it is much more probable that this king died on account of his sacrilegious plundering of the temple at Jerusalem. But we will not contend about this matter with those who may think, that the cause assigned by this Polybius of Megalopolis is nearer the truth than that assigned by us.

2. However, Antiochus, before he died, called for Philip, who was one of his companions, and made him the guardian of his kingdom; and gave him his diadem, and his garment, and his ring, and charged him to carry them, and deliver them to his son Antiochus; and desired him to take care of his education, and to preserve the kingdom for him. † This Antiochus died in the hundred forty and ninth year: But it was Lysias that declared his death to the multitude, and appointed his son Antiochus to be king, (of whom at present he had the care), and called him *Eupator*.

3. At this time it was that the garrison in the citadel at Jerusalem, with the Jewish runagates, did a great deal of harm to the Jews: for the soldiers that were in that garrison rushed out upon the sudden, and destroyed such as were going up to the temple in order to offer their sacrifices, for this citadel adjoined to, and overlooked the temple. When these misfortunes had often happened to them, Judas resolved to distroy that garrison; whereupon he got all the people together, and vigorously besieged those that were in the citadel. This was in the hundred and fiftieth year of the dominion of the Seleucidæ. So he made engines of war, and erected bulwarks, and very zealously pressed on to take the citadel: But there were not a few of the runagates who were in the place, that went out by night into the country, and got together some other wicked men like themselves, and went to Antiochus the king, and desired of him, That "he would not suffer them to be neglected, under the "great hardships that lay upon them from those of their own

* Since St. Paul, a Pharisee, confesses, that he had not *known concupisence, or desires*, to be sinful, had not the tenth commandment said, *Thou shalt not covet*; Rom. vii. 7. the case seems to have been much the same with our Josephus, who was of the same sect; that he had not a deep sense of the greatness of any sins that proceeded no farther than the intention. However, since Josephus speaks here properly of the punishment of death, which is not inflicted by any law either of God or man for the bare intention, his words need not to be strained to mean, that sins intended, but not executed, were no sins at all.

† No wonder that Josephus here describes Antiochus Eupator as young, and wanting tuition, when he came to the crown, since Appian informs us, Syriac, p. 177, that he was then but *nine* years old.

"nation, and this because their sufferings were occasioned on "his father's account, while they left the religious worship of "their fathers, and preferred that which he had commanded "them to follow: that there was danger lest the citadel, and "those appointed to garrison it by the king, should be taken "by Judas, and those that were with him, unless he would "send them succours." When Antiochus, who was but a child, heard this, he was angry, and sent for his captains, and his friends, and gave order, that they should get an army of mercenaries together, with such men also of his own kingdom as were of any age fit for war. Accordingly, an army was collected of about an hundred thousand footmen, and twenty thousand horsemen, and thirty-two elephants.

4. So the king took his army, and marched hastily out of Antioch, with Lysias, who had the command of the whole, and came to Idumea, and thence went up to the city Bethsura, a city that was strong, and not to be taken without great difficulty; he set about this city, and besieged it. And while the inhabitants of Bethsura courageously opposed him; and sallied out upon him, and burnt his engines of war, a great deal of time was spent in the siege. But when Judas heard of the king's coming, he raised the siege of the citadel, and met the king, and pitched his camp in certain straits, at a place called *Bethzachariah*, at the distance of seventy furlongs from the enemy; but the king soon drew his forces from Bethsura, and brought them to those straits. And as soon as it was day, he put his men in battle array, and made his elephants follow one another through the narrow passes, because they could not be set sideways by one another. Now round about every elephant there were a thousand footmen, and five hundred horsemen. The elephants also had high towers [upon their backs], and archers [in them]. And he also made the rest of his army to go up the mountains, and put his friends before the rest; and gave orders for the army to shout aloud, and so he attacked the enemy. He also exposed to sight their golden and brazen shields, so that a glorious splendour was sent from them; and when they shouted, the mountains echoed again. When Judas saw this, he was not terrified, but received the enemy with great courage, and slew about six hundred of the first ranks. But when his brother Eleazar, whom they called *Auran*, saw the tallest of the elephants armed with royal breast-plates, and supposed that the king was upon him, he attacked him with great quickness and bravery. He also slew many of those that were about the elephant, and scattered the rest, and then went under the belly of the elephant, and smote him, and slew him; so the elephant fell upon Eleazar, and by his weight crushed him to death. And thus did this man come

to his end, when he had first courageously destroyed many of his enemies.

5. But Judas, seeing the strength of the enemy, retired to Jerusalem, and prepared to endure a siege. As for Antiochus, he sent part of his army to Bethsura, to besiege it, and with the rest of his army he came against Jerusalem; but the inhabitants of Bethsura was terrified at his strength; and seeing that their provisions grew scarce, they delivered themselves up on the security of oaths, that they should suffer no hard treatment from the king. And when Antiochus had thus taken the city, he did them no other harm than sending them out naked. He also placed a garrison of his own in the city. But as for the temple of Jerusalem, he lay at its siege a long time, while they within bravely defended it, for what engines soever the king set against them, they set other engines again to oppose them. But then their provisions failed them; what fruits of the ground they had laid up were spent, and the land being not ploughed that year, continued unsowed, because it was the seventh year, on which, by our laws, we are obliged to let it lie uncultivated. And withal so many of the besieged ran away for want of necessaries, that but a few only were left in the temple.

6. And these happened to be the circumstances of such as were besieged in the temple. But then, because Lysias, the general of the army, and Antiochus the king, were informed that Philip was coming upon them out of Persia; and was endeavouring to get the management of public affairs to himself, they came into these sentiments, to leave the siege, and to make haste to go again to Philip; yet did they resolve not to let this be known to the soldiers nor to the officers: But the king commanded Lysias to speak openly to their soldiers and the officers, without saying a word about the business of Philip: and to intimate to them, that the siege would be very long: that the place was very strong; that they were already in want of provisions; that many affairs of the kingdom wanted regulation: and that it was much better to make a league with the besieged, and to become friends to their whole nation, by permitting them to observe the laws of their fathers, while they broke out int this war only because they were deprived of them, and so to depart home. When Lysias had discoursed thus to them, both the army and the officers were pleased with this resolution.

7. Accordingly the king sent to Judas, and to those that were besieged with them, and promised to give them peace, and to permit them to make use of, and live according to the laws of their fathers. And they gladly received his proposals: and when they had gained security upon oath, for their performance, they went out of the temple. But when Antiochus came

into it, and saw how strong the place was, he broke his oaths, and ordered his army that was there to pluck down the walls to the ground, and when he had so done, he returned to Antioch: he also carried with him Onias the high-priest, who was also called *Menelaus;* for Lysias advised the king to slay Menelaus, if he would have the Jews be quiet, and cause him no farther disturbance, for that this man was the origin of all the mischief the Jews had done them, by persuading his father to compel the Jews to leave the religion of their fathers: So the king sent Menelaus to Berea, a city of Syria, and there had him put to death, when he had been high priest ten years. He had been a wicked and an impious man: and, in order to get the government to himself, had compelled his nation to transgress their own laws. After the death of Menelaus, Alcimus, who was also called *Jacimus,* was made high priest. But when king Antiochus found that Philip had already possessed himself of the government, he made war against him, and subdued him, and took him and slew him. Now, as to Onias the son of the high priest, who, as we before informed you, was left a child when his father died, when he saw that the king had slain his uncle Menelaus, and given the high priesthood to Alcimus, who was not of the high priest stock, but as induced by Lysias to translate that dignity from this family to another house, he fled to Ptolemy, king of Egypt, and when he found he was in great esteem with him, and with his wife Cleopatra, he desired and obtained a place in the Nomus of Heliopolis, wherein he built a temple like to that at Jerusalem: of which therefore we shall hereafter give an account in a place more proper for it.

CHAP. X.

How Bacchides, the general of Demetrius's army, made an expedition against Judea, and returned without success; and how Nicanor was sent a little afterward against Judas, and perished, together with his army: as also concerning the death of Alcimus, and the succession of Judas.

§ 1. About the same time Demetrius, the son of Seleucus, fled away from Rome, and took Tripoli, a city of Syria, and set the diadem on his own head. He also gathered certain mercenary soldiers together, and entered into his kingdom, and was joyfully received by all, who delivered themselves up to him. And when they had taken Antiochus the king, and Lysias, they brought them to him alive; both which were immediately put to death by the command of Demetrius, when Antiochus had reigned two years, as we have already elsewhere related. But there were now many of the wicked Jewish runagates that came

together to him, and with them Alcimus the high priest, who accused the whole nation, and particularly Judas and his brethren; and said, That "they had slain all his friends, and that "those in his kingdom that were of his party, and waited for "his return, were by them put to death; that these men had "ejected them out of their own country; and caused them to be "sojourners in a foreign land; and they desired that he would "send some one of his own friends, and know from him what "mischief Judas' party had done."

2. At this Demetrius was very angry, and sent Bacchides, a friend of Antiochus Epiphanes *, a good man; and one that had been entrusted with all Mesopotamia, and gave him an army, and committed Alcimus the high priest to his care; and gave him charge to slay Judas, and those that were with him. So Bacchides made haste, and went out of Antioch with his army; and when he was come into Judea, he sent to Judas and his brethren, to discourse with him about a league of friendship and peace, for he had a mind to take him by treachery: But Judas did not give credit to him, for he saw that he came with so great an army as men do not bring when they come to make peace but to make war. However, some of the people acquiesced in that Bacchides caused to be proclaimed; and supposing they should undergo no considerable harm from Alcimus, who was their countryman, they went over to them; and when they had received oaths from both of them, that neither they themselves, nor those of the same sentiments, should come to any harm, they entrusted themselves with them: But Bacchides troubled himself not about the oaths he had taken, and slew threescore of them, although by not keeping his faith with these that first went over, he deterred all the rest, who had intentions to go over to him, from doing it. But as he was gone out of Jerusalem, and was at the village called *Bethzetha*, he sent out and caught many of the deserters, and some of the people also, and slew them all; and enjoined all that lived in the country to submit to Alcimus. So he left him there, with some part of the army that he might have wherewith to keep the country in obedience, and returned to Antioch, to king Demetrius.

3. But Alcimus was desirous to have the dominion more firmly assured to him; and understanding, that if he could bring it about that the multitude should be his friends, he should govern

* It is no way probable that Josephus would call Bacchides, that bitter and bloody enemy of the Jews, as our present copies have it, *a good man*, or *kind and gentle*. What the author of the first book of Maccabees, whom Josephus here follows, instead of that character, says of him, is that he was *a great man in the kingdom, and faithful to his king*: which was very probably Josephus's meaning also.

with greater security, he spake kind words to them all, and discoursed to each of them after an agreeable and pleasant manner, by which means he quickly had a great body of men and an army about him, although the greater part of them were of the wicked, and the deserters. With these, whom he used as his servants and soldiers, he went all over the country, and slew all that he could find of Judas's party. But when Judas saw that Alcimus was already become great, and had destroyed many of the good and holy men of the country, he also went all over the country, and destroyed those that were of the other's party, But when Alcimus saw that he was not able to oppose Judas, nor was equal to him in strength, he resolved to apply himself to king Demetrius for his assistance; so he came to Antioch, and irritated him against Judas, and accused him, alleging that he had undergone a great many miseries by his means, and that he would do more mischief unless he were prevented, and brought to punishment, which must be done by sending a powerful force against him.

4. So Demetrius, being already of opinion that it would be a thing pernicious to his own affairs to overlook Judas, now he was becoming so great, sent against him Nicanor, the most kind and most faithful of all his friends; for he it was who fled away with him from the city of Rome. He also gave him as many forces as he thought sufficient for him to conquer Judas withal, and bid him not to spare the nation at all. When Nicanor was come to Jerusalem, he did not resolve to fight Judas immediately, but judged it better to get him into his power by treachery; so he sent him a message of peace, and said, "there was no manner "of necessity for them to fight and hazard themselves; and that "he would give him his oath that he would do him no harm, "for that he only came with some friends, in order to let him "know what king Demetrius's intentions were, and what opi-"nion he had of their nation." When Nicanor had delivered this message, Judas and his brethren complied with him, and suspecting no deceit, they gave him assurances of friendship, and received Nicanor and his army; but while he was saluting Judas, and they were talking together; he gave a certain signal to his own soldiers, upon which they were to seize upon Judas; but he perceived the treachery, and ran back to his own soldiers, and fled away with them. So upon this discovery of his purpose, and of the snares laid for Judas, Nicanor determined to make open war with him, and gathered his army together, and perpared for fighting him; and upon joining battle with him at a certain village called Capharsalama, he * beat Judas and forced him to fly to that citadel which was at Jerusalem.

* Josephus's copies must have been corrupted when they here give victory to Ni-

5. And when Nicanor came down from the citadel unto the temple, some of the priests and elders met him, and saluted him; and shewed him the sacrifices which they said they offered to God for the king: upon which he blasphemed, and threatened them, that unless the people would deliver up Judas to him, upon his return he would pull down their temple.—and when he had thus threatened them, he departed from Jerusalem: But the priests fell into tears out of grief of what he had said, and besought God to deliver them from their enemies. But now for Nicanor, when he was gone out of Jerusalem, and was at a certain village called Bethhoron, he there pitched his camp, another army out of Syria having joined him: And Judas pitched his camp at Adasa, another village, which was thirty furlongs distant from Bethhoron, having no more than one thousand soldiers. And when he had encouraged them not to be dismayed at the multitude of their enemies, nor to regard how many they were against whom they were going to fight, but to consider who they themselves were, and for what great rewards they hazarded themselves, and to attack the enemy courageously, he led them out to fight, and joining battle with Nicanor, which proved to be a severe one, he overcame the enemy, and slew many of them; and at last Nicanor himself, as he was fighting, gloriously fell. Upon whose fall the army did not stay, but when they had lost their general they were put to flight and threw down their arms; Judas also pursued them and slew them; and gave notice by the sound of the trumpets to the neighbouring villages, that he had conquered the enemy; which, when the inhabitants heard, they put on their armour hastily, and met their enemies in the face as they were running away, and slew them, insomuch that not one of them escaped out of this battle, and were in number nine thousand. This victory happened to fall on the thirteenth day of that month, which by the Jews is called Adar, and the Macedonians Dystrus; and the Jews thereon celebrate this victory every year, and esteem it as a festival day. After which the Jewish nation were, for a while, free from wars, and enjoyed peace; but afterward they returned into their former state of wars and hazards.

6. But now as the high priest Alcimus was resolving to pull down the wall of the sanctuary, which had been there of old time,

canor contrary to the words following, which imply, that he who was beaten fled into the *citadel*, which for certain belonged to the city of David, or to Mount Zion, and was in the possession of Nicanor's garrison, and not of Judas's: As also it is contrary to the express words of Josephus' original author, 1 Maccab, vii. 32. who says that Nicanor lost about 5000 men, and fled to the city of David.

and had been built by the holy prophets, * he was smitten suddenly by God, and fell down. This stroke made him fall down speechless upon the ground: and undergoing torments for many days he at length died, when he had been high priest four years. And when he was dead, the people bestowed the high priesthood on Judas; who hearing of the power † of the Romans, and that they had conquered in war Galatia, and Iberia, and Carthage, and Lybia; and that, besides these, they had subdued Greece, and their kings, Perseus, and Philip, and Antiochus the Great also, he resolved to enter into a league of friendship with them. He therefore sent to Rome some of his friends, Eupolemus the son of John, and Jason the son of Eleazar, and by them desired the Romans that they would assist them, and be their friends, and would write to Demetrius that he would not fight against the Jews. So the senate received the ambassadors that came from Judas to Rome, and discoursed with them about the errand on which they came, and then granted them a league of assistance. They also made a decree concerning it, and sent a copy of it into Judea. It was also laid up in the capitol, and engraven in brass. The decree itself was this: "The decree of the senate "concerning a league of assistance and friendship with the na-"tion of the Jews. It shall not be lawful for any that are sub-"ject to the Romans to make war with the nation of the Jews, "nor to assist those that do so, either by sending them corn, or "ships, or money; and if any attack be made upon the Jews, "the Romans shall assist them, as far as they are able: and "again, if any attack be made upon the Romans, the Jews shall "assist them. And if the Jews had a mind to add to, or to "take away any thing from this league of assistance, that shall "be done with the common consent of the Romans. And what-"soever addition shall thus be made, it shall be of force." This decree was written by Eupolemus the son of John, and by Jason the son of Eleazar, ‡ when Judas was high priest of the na-

* This account of the miserable death of Alcimus or Jacimus, the wicked high priest, (the first that was not of the family of the high priests, and made by a vile heathen, Lysias,) before the death of Judas, and of Judas's succession to him as a high priest, both here, and at the conclusion of this book, directly contradicts, 1 Maccab. ix. 54—57. which places his death after the death of Judas, and says not a syllable of the high priesthood of Judas.

† How well the Roman histories agree to this account of the conquests and powerful condition of the Romans at this time, see the notes in Havercamp's edition; only that the number of the senators of Rome was then just 320, is, I think, only known from 1 Maccab. viii. 15.

‡ This subscription is wanting, 1 Maccab. viii. 17, 19. and must be the words of Josephus, who by mistake, thought, as we have just now seen, that Judas was at this time high priest, and accordingly then reckoned his brother Jonathan to be the general of the army, which yet he seems not to have been till after the death of Judas.

tion, and Simon his brother was general of the army. And this was the first league that the Romans made with the Jews, and was managed after this manner.

CHAP. XI.

That Bacchides was again sent out against Judas; and how Judas fell as he was courageously fighting.

§ 1. But when Demetrius was informed of the death of Nicanor, and of the destruction of the army that was with him, he sent Bacchides again with an army into Judea, who marched out of Antioch, and came into Judea, and pitched his camp at Arbela, a city of Galilee, and having besieged and taken those that were there in caves, (for many of the people fled into such places,) he removed, and made all the haste he could to Jerusalem. And when he had learned that Judas pitched his camp at a certain village whose name was Bethzetho, he led his army against him: they were twenty thousand footmen; and two thousand horsemen. Now Judas had no more soldiers than * one thousand. When these saw the multitude of Bacchides's men they were afraid, and left their camp, and fled all away, excepting eight hundred. Now when Judas was deserted by his own soldiers, and the enemy pressed upon him, and gave him no time to gather his army together, he was disposed to fight with Bacchides's army, though he had but eight hundred men with him; so he exhorted these men to undergo the danger courageously, and encouraged them to attack the enemy. And when they said they were not a body sufficient to fight so great an army, and advised that they should retire now, and save themselves, and that when he had gathered his own men together, then he should fall upon the enemy afterwards, his answer was this: "Let not the sun "ever see such a thing that I should shew my back to the enemy; and although this be the time that will bring me to my "end, and I must die in this battle, I will rather stand to it courageously, and bear whatsoever comes upon me, than by now "running away, bring reproach upon my former great actions, "or tarnish their glory." This was the speech he made to those that remained with him, whereby he encouraged them to attack the enemy.

2. But Bacchides drew his army out of their camp, and put

* That this copy of Josephus, as he wrote it, had here not 1000 but 3000 with 1 Maccab. ix. 5. is very plain, because though the main part ran away at first even in Josephus, as well as in 1 Maccab. ix. 6. yet, as there, so here 800 are said to have remained with Judas, which would be absurd, if the whole number had been no more than 1000.

them in array for the battle. He set the horsemen on both the wings, and the light soldiers and the archers he placed before the whole army, but he was himself on the right wing. And when he had thus put his army in order of battle, and was going to join battle with the enemy, he commanded the trumpeter to give a signal of battle, and the army to make a shout and to fall on the enemy. And when Judas had done the same, he joined battle with them; and as both sides fought valiantly, and the battle continued till sunset, Judas saw that Bacchides, and the strongest part of the army was in the right wing, and thereupon took the most courageous men with him, and ran upon that part of the army, and fell upon those that were there, and broke their ranks, and drove them into the middle, and forced them to run away, and pursued them as far as a mountain called Aza; but when those of the left wing saw that the right wing was put to flight, they encompassed Judas; and pursued him, and came behind him, and took him into the middle of their army; so being not able to fly, but encompassed round about with enemies, he stood still, and he and those that were with him fought, and when he had slain a great many of those that came against him, he at last was himself wounded, and fell, and gave up the ghost, and died in a way like to his former famous actions.—When Judas was dead, those that were with him had no one whom they could regard [as their commander,] but when they saw themselves deprived of such a general, they fled. But Simon and Jonathan, Judas's brethren, received his dead body by a treaty from the enemy, and carried it to the village of Modin, where their father had been buried, and there buried him; while the multitude lamented him many days, and performed the usual solemn rites of a funeral to him. And this was the end that Judas came to. He had been a man of valour and a great warrior, and mindful of the commands of his father Mattathias; and had undergone all difficulties, both in doing and suffering, for the liberty of his countrymen. And when his character was so excellent [while he was alive,] he left behind him a glorious reputation and memorial, by gaining freedom for his nation, and delivering them from slavery under the Macedonians. And when he had retained the high priesthood three years, he died.

BOOK XIII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF EIGHTY-TWO YEARS.

[FROM THE DEATH OF JUDAS MACCABEES TO THE DEATH OF QUEEN ALEXANDRA.]

CHAP. I.

How Jonathan took the government after his brother Judas, and how he, together with his brother Simon, waged war against Bacchides.

§ 1. By what means the nation of the Jews recovered their freedom when they had been brought into slavery by the Macedonians, and what struggles, and how great battles Judas the general of their army ran through, till he was slain as he was fighting for them, hath been related in the foregoing book; but after he was dead, all the wicked, and those that transgressed the laws of their forefathers, sprang up again in Judea, and grew upon them and distressed them on every side. A famine also assisted their wickedness, and afflicted the country, till not a few, who by reason of their want of necessaries, and because they were not able to bear up the miseries that both the famine and their enemies brought upon them, deserted their country, and went to the Macedonians. And now Bacchides gathered those Jews together who had apostatized from the accustomed way of living of their forefathers, and chose to live like their neighbours, and committed the care of the country to them, who also caught the friends of Judas, and those of his party, and delivered them up to Bacchides, who, when he had, in the first place tortured and tormented them at his pleasure, he, by that means at length killed them. And when this calamity of the Jews was become so great, as they had never had experience of the like since their return out of Babylon, those that remained of the companions of Judas, seeing that the nation was ready to be destroyed after a miserable manner, came to his brother Jonathan, and desired him that he would imitate his brother, and that care which he took of his countrymen, for whose liberty in general he died also; and that he would not permit the nation to be without a governor, especially in those destructive circumstances wherein it now was. And when Jon-

athan said, that he was ready to die for them, and was indeed esteemed no way inferior to his brother, he was appointed to be the general of the Jewish army.

2. When Bacchides heard this, he was afraid that Jonathan might be very troublesome to the king and the Macedonians, as Judas had been before him, he sought how he might slay him by treachery: But this invention of his was not unknown to Jonathan, nor to his brother Simon: but when these two were apprized of it, they took all their companions, and presently fled into that wilderness which was nearest to the city; and when they were come to a lake called *Asphar*, they abode there. But when Bacchides was sensible that they were in a low state, and were in that place he hasted to fall upon them with all his forces, and pitching his camp beyond Jordan, he recruited his army: But when Jonathan knew that Bacchides was coming upon him he sent his brother John, who was also called *Gaddis*, to the Nabatean Arabs, that he might lodge his baggage with them until the battle with Bacchides should be over, for they were the Jews' friends. And the sons of Ambri laid an ambush for John from the city Medaba, and seized upon him, and upon those that were with him, and plundered all that they had with them: They also slew John, and all his companions. However, they were sufficiently punished for what they now did by John's brethren, as we shall relate presently.

3. But when Bacchides knew that Jonathan had pitched his camp among the lakes of Jordan, he observed when their Sabbath-day came, and then assaulted him as supposing that he would not fight because of the law [for resting on that day:] but he exhorted his companions [to fight;] and told them that their lives were at stake, since they were encompassed by the river, and by their enemies, and had no way to escape, for that their enemies pressed upon them before, and the river was behind them. So after he had prayed to God to give them the victory, he joined battle with the enemy, of whom he overthrew many; and as he saw Bacchides coming up boldly to him, he stretched out his right hand to smite him, but the other foreseeing and avoiding the stroke, Jonathan with his companions leaped into the river, and swam over it, and by that means escaped beyond Jordan, while the enemy did not pass over that river: but Bacchides returned presently to the citadel at Jerusalem, having lost about two thousand of his army. He also fortified many cities of Judea, whose walls had been demolished, Jericho, and Emmaus, and Bethoron, and Bethel, and Timna, and Pharatho, and Tekoa, and Gazara, and built towers in every one of these cities, and encompassed them with strong walls, that were very large also, and put garrisons into them, that they might issue

out of them, and do mischief to the Jews. He also fortified the citadel at Jerusalem more than all the rest. Moreover, he took the sons of the principal Jews as pledges, and shut them up in the citadel, and in that manner guarded it.

4. About the same time one came to Jonathan, and to his brother Simon, and told them that the sons of Ambri were celebrating a marriage, and bringing the bride from the city Gabatha, who was the daughter of one of the illustrious men among the Arabians, and that the damsel was to be conducted with pomp and splendour, and much riches: So Jonathan and Simon thinking this appeared to be the fittest time for them to avenge the death of their brother, and that they had forces sufficient for receiving satisfaction from them for his death, they made haste to Medaba, and lay in wait among the mountains for the coming of their enemies; and as soon as they saw them conducting the virgin, and her bridegroom, and such a great company of their friends with them, as was to be expected at this wedding, they sallied out of their ambush, and slew them all; and took their ornaments, and all the prey that then followed them, and so returned, and received this satisfaction for their brother John from the sons of Ambri; for as well those sons themselves, as their friends, and wives, and children, that followed them, perished, being in number about four hundred.

5. However, Simon and Jonathan returned to the lakes of the river and abode there. But Bacchides, when he had secured all Judea with his garrisons, returned to the king: and then it was that the affairs of Judea were quiet for two years. But when the deserters and the wicked saw that Jonathan and those that were with him lived in the country very quietly, by reason of the peace, they sent to king Demetrius, and excited him to send Bacchides to seize upon Jonathan, which they said was to be done without any trouble, and in one night's time; and that if they fell upon them before they were aware, they might slay them all. So the king sent Bacchides, who, when he was come into Judea, wrote to all his friends, both Jews and auxiliaries, that they should seize upon Jonathan and bring him to him; and, when, upon all their endeavours, they were not able to seize upon Jonathan, for he was sensible of the snares they laid for him, and very carefully guarded against them, Bacchides was angry at these deserters, as having imposed upon him, and upon the king, and slew fifty of their leaders. Whereupon Jonathan, with his brother, and those that were with them, retired to Bethagla, a village that lay in the wilderness, out of his fear of Bacchides. He also built towers on it, and encompassed it with walls, and took care that it should be safely guarded. Upon the hearing of which, Bacchides led his own army along with

him, and besides took his Jewish auxiliaries, and came against Jonathan, and made an assault upon his fortifications, and besieged him many days; but Jonathan did not abate of his courage at the zeal Bacchides used in the siege, but courageously opposed him: And while he left his brother Simon in the city, to fight with Bacchides, he went privately out himself into the country, and got a great body of men together of his own party, and fell upon Bacchides's camp in the night time, and destroyed a great many of them. His brother Simon knew also of this his falling upon them, because he perceived that the enemies were slain by him, so he sallied out upon them, and burnt the engines which the Macedonians used, and made a great slaughter of them. And when Bacchides saw himself encompassed with enemies, and some of them before, and some behind him, he fell into despair and trouble of mind, as confounded at the unexpected ill success of this siege. However, he vented his displeasure at these misfortunes upon those deserters who sent for him from the king, as having deluded him. So he had a mind to finish this siege after a decent manner, if it were possible for him so to do, and then to return home.

6. When Jonathan understood these his intentions, he sent ambassadors to him, about a league of friendship and mutual assistance, and that they might restore those they had taken captive on both sides. So Bacchides thought this a pretty decent way of retiring home, and made a league of friendship with Jonathan, when they sware that they would not any more make war one against another. Accordingly, he restored the captives, and took his own men with him, and returned to the king of Antioch: and after this his departure, he never came into Judea again. Then did Jonathan take the opportunity of this quiet state of things, and went and lived into the city Michmash; and there governed the multitude, and punished the wicked and ungodly, and by that means purged the nation of them.

CHAP. II.

How Alexander [Bala] in his war with Demetrius, granted Jonathan many advantages, and appointed him to be high priest, and persuaded him to assist him, although Demetrius promised him greater advantages on the other side. Concerning the death of Demetrius.

§ 1. Now in the hundred and sixtieth year, it fell out that Alexander, the * son of Antiochus Epiphanes, came up into

* This Alexander Bala, who certainly pretended to be the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, and was owned for such by the Jews and Romans, and many others,

Syria, and took Ptolemais, the soldiers within having betrayed it to him, for they were at enmity with Demetrius, on account of his insolence and difficulty of access; for he shut himself up in a palace of his that had four towers, which he had built himself, not far from Antioch, and admitted nobody. He was withal slothful and negligent about the public affairs, whereby the hatred of his subjects was the more kindled against him, as we have elsewhere already related. When therefore Demetrius heard that Alexander was in Ptolemais, he took his whole army, and led it against him: he also sent ambassadors to Jonathan, about a league of mutual assistance and friendship, for he resolved to be before-hand with Alexander, lest the other should treat with him first, and gain assistance from him: And this he did out of the fear he had, lest Jonathan should remember how ill Demetrius had formerly treated him, and should join with him in this war against him. He therefore gave orders that Jonathan should be allowed to raise an army, and should get armour made, and should receive back those hostages of the Jewish nation whom Bacchides had shut up in the citadel of Jerusalem. When this good fortune had befallen Jonathan, by the concession of Demetrius, he came to Jerusalem, and read the king's letter, in the audience of the people, and of those that kept the citadel. When these were read, these wicked men and deserters, who were in the citadel, were greatly afraid, upon the king's permission to Jonathan to raise an army, and to receive back the hostages: So he delivered every one of them to his own parents. And thus did Jonathan make his abode at Jerusalem, renewing the city to a better state, and reforming the buildings as he pleased; for he gave orders that the walls of the city should be rebuilt with square stones, that it might be more secure from their enemies. And when those that kept the garrisons that were in Judea saw this, they all left them, and fled to Antioch, excepting those that were in the city of Bethsura, and those that were in the citadel of Jerusalem, for the greater part of these was of the wicked Jews and deserters, and on that account these did not deliver up their garrisons.

2. When Alexander knew what promises Demetrius had

yet is by several historians deemed to be a counterfeit, and of no family at all, is, however, by Josephus believed to have been the real son of that Antiochus, and by him always spoken of accordingly. And truly, since the original cotemporary and authentic author of the first book of Maccab. ch. x. 1. calls him by his father's name Epiphanes, and says he was the son of Antiochus, I suppose the other writers, who are all much later, are not to be followed against such evidence, though perhaps Epiphanes might have him by a woman of no family. The king of Egypt also, Philometer, soon gave him his daughter in marriage, which he would hardly have done, had he believed him to be a counterfeit, and of so very mean a birth as the later historians pretend.

made Jonathan, and withal knew his courage, and what great things he had done when he fought the Macedonians, and besides what hardships he had undergone by the means of Demetrius, and of Bacchides, the general of Demetrius's army, he told his friends, That "he could not at present find any one else "that might afford him better assistance than Jonathan, who "was both courageous against his enemies, and had a particular "hatred against Demetrius, as having both suffered many hard "things from him, and acted many hard things against him.— "If therefore they were of opinion that they should make him "their friend against Demetrius, it was more for their advan-"tage to invite him to assist them now than at another time." It being therefore determined by him and his friends to send to Jonathan, he wrote to him this epistle; "King Alexander to "his brother Jonathan, sendeth greeting: We have long ago "heard of thy courage, and thy fidelity, and for that reason "have sent to thee, to make with thee a league of friendship "and mutual assistance. We therefore do ordain thee this day "the high priest of the Jews, and that thou beest called my "friend. I have also sent thee, as presents, a purple robe and "a golden crown, and desire, that now thou art by us honoured, "thou wilt in like manner respect us also."

3. When Jonathan had received this letter, he * put on the pontifical robe at the time of the feast of tabernacles, four years after the death of his brother Judas, for at that time no high priest had been made. So he raised great forces, and had abundance of armour got ready. This greatly grieved Demetrius, when he heard of it, and made him blame himself for his slowness, that he had not prevented Alexander, and got the good-will of Jonathan, but had given him time so to do. However, he also himself wrote a letter to Jonathan, and to the people; the contents whereof are these: "King Demetrius to Jonathan, "and to the nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting: Since you "have preserved your friendship for us; and when you have "been tempted by our enemies, you have not joined yourselves "to them, I both commend you for this your fidelity, and ex-"hort you to continue in the same disposition, for which you "shall be repaid, and receive rewards from us: for I will free

* Since Jonathan plainly did not put on the pontifical robes till seven or eight years after the death of his brother Judas, or not till the feast of tabernacles in the 160th of the Seleucidæ, 1 Maccab. x. 21. Petitus's emendation seems here to deserve consideration, who, instead of *after four years since the death of his brother Judas*, would have us read, *and therefore after* eight *years since the death of his brother Judas*. This would tolerably well agree with the death of the Macabees, and with Josephus's own exact chronology at the end of the twentieth book of these Antiquities, which the present text cannot be made to do.

"you from the greatest part of the tributes and taxes which "you formerly paid to the kings my predecessors, and to myself; and I do now set you free from those tributes which "you have ever paid; and besides, I forgive you the tax upon "salt, and * the value of the crowns which you used to offer to "me; and instead of the third part of the fruits [of the field], "and the half of the fruits of the trees, I relinquish my part of "them from this day: And as to the poll-money, which ought "to be given me for every head of the inhabitants of Judea, "and of the three toparchies that adjoin to Judea, Samaria, and "Galilee, and Perea, that I relinquish to you for this time, and "for all time to come. I will also that the city of Jerusalem "be holy and inviolable; and free from the tythe, and from the "taxes, unto its utmost bounds: And I so far recede from my "title to the citadel, as to permit Jonathan your high priest to "possess it, that he may place such a garrison in it as he ap-"proves of for fidelity and good-will to himself, that they may "keep it for us. I also make free all those Jews who have "been made captives and slaves in my kingdom. I also give "order that the beasts of the Jews be not pressed for our ser-"vice. And let their Sabbaths, and all their festivals, and three "days before each of them, be free from any imposition. In "the same manner, I set free the Jews that are inhabitants in "my kingdom, and order that no injury be done them. I also "give leave to such of them as are willing to list themselves in "my army, that they may do it, and those as far as thirty "thousand; which Jewish soldiers, wheresoever they go, shall "have the same pay that my own army hath: and some of them "I will place in my garrisons, and some as guards about mine "own body, and as rulers over those that are in my court. I "give them leave also to use the laws of their forefathers, and "to observe them; and I will, that they have power over the "three toparchies that are added to Judea, and it shall be in the "power of the high priest, to take care that not one Jew shall "have any other temple for worship, but only that at Jerusa-"lem. I bequeath also, out of my own revenues, yearly, for "the expenses about the sacrifices, one hundred and fifty thou-"sand [drachmæ]; and what money is to spare I will that it "shall be your own. I also release to you those ten thousand "drachmæ which the kings received from the temple, because "they appertain to the priests that minister in that temple.— "And whosoever shall fly to the temple at Jerusalem, or to the

* Take Grotius's note here: "The Jews, says he, were wont to present "*crowns* to the kings [of Syria]; afterwards that gold, which was paid instead of "those crowns, or which was expended in making them, was called the *crown gold* "and *crown tax*," On 1 Maccab. x. 27.

"places thereto belonging, or who owe the king money, or are "there on any other account, let them be set free, and let their "goods be in safety. I also give you leave to repair and re-"build your temple, and that all be done at my expenses. I "also allow you to build the walls of your city, and to erect "high towers, and that they be erected at my charge. And if "there be any fortified town that would be convenient for the "Jewish country to have very strong, let it be so built at my "expenses."

4. This was what Demetrius promised, and granted to the Jews, by this letter. But king Alexander raised a great army of mercenary soldiers, and of those that deserted to him out of Syria, and made an expedition against Demetrius. And when it was come to a battle, the left wing of Demetrius put those who opposed them to flight, and pursued them a great way, and slew many of them, and spoiled their camp, but the right wing, where Demetrius happened to be, was beaten; and as for all the rest, they ran away: but Demetrius fought courageously, and slew a great many of the enemy; but as he was in the pursuit of the rest, his horse carried him into a deep bog, where it was hard to get out, and there it happened, that upon his horse's falling down, he could not escape being killed; for when his enemies saw what had befallen him, they returned back, and encompassed Demetrius round, and they all threw their darts at him: but he being now on foot, fought bravely, but at length he received so many wounds, that he was not able to bear up any longer, but fell. And this is the end that Demetrius came to when he had reigned * eleven years, as we have elsewhere related.

CHAP. III.

The friendship that was between Onias and Ptolemy Philometer; and how Onias built a temple in Egypt like to that at Jerusalem.

§ 1. BUT then the son of Onias the high priest, who was of the same name with his father, and who fled to king Ptolemy, who was called *Philometer*, lived now at Alexandria, as we have said already. When this Onias saw that Judea was oppressed by the Macedonians, and their kings, out of a desire to purchase to himself a memorial and eternal fame, he resolved to send to king Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra, to ask leave of

* Since the rest of the historians now extant give this Demetrius 13 years, and Josephus only 11 years, Dean Prideaux does not amiss in ascribing to him the mean number 12.

them that he might build a temple in Egypt like to that at Jerusalem, and might ordain Levites and priests out of their own stock. The chief reason why he was desirous so to do, was, that he relied upon the prophet Isaiah, who lived above six hundred years before, and foretold that there certainly was to be a temple built to Almighty God in Egypt by a man that was a Jew. Onias was elevated with this prediction; and wrote the following epistle to Ptolemy and Cleopatra: "Having done ma-"ny and great things for you in the affairs of the war, by the "assistance of God, and that in Celesyria and Phenicia, I came "at length with the Jews to Leontopolis, and to other places "of your nation, where I found that the greatest part of your "people had temples in an improper manner, and that on this "account they bare ill will one against another, which happens "to the Egyptians by reason of the multitude of their temples, "and the difference of opinions about divine worship. Now I "found a very fit place in a castle that hath its name from the "country Diana; this place is full of materials of several sorts, "and replenished with sacred animals: I desire therefore that "you will grant me leave to purge this holy place, which be-"longs to no master, and is fallen down, and to build there a "temple to Almighty God, after the pattern of that in Jerusa-"lem, and of the same dimensions; that may be for the benefit "of thyself, and thy wife and children, that those Jews which "dwell in Egypt may have a place whither they may come and "meet together in mutual harmony one with another, and be "subservient to thy advantages, for the prophet Isaiah fore-"told, that * *there should be an altar in Egypt to the Lord God.*

* It seems to me, contrary to the opinion of Josephus, and of the moderns, both Jews and Christians, that this prophecy of Isaiah xix. 19. &c. *In that day there shall be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt*, &c. directly foretold the building of this temple of Onias in Egypt, and was a sufficient warrant to the Jews for building it, and for worshipping the true God, the God of Israel, therein. See Authent. Rec vol. II. p. 755. That God seems to have soon better accepted of the sacrifices and prayers here offered him than those at Jerusalem, see the note on ch. x. § 7. And truly the marks of Jewish corruption or interpolation in this text, in order to discourage their people from approving of the worship of God here, are very strong, and highly deserve our consideration and correction. The foregoing verse in Isaiah runs thus in our common copies, *In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt*, [the Hebrew language; shall be full of Jews, whose sacred books were in Hebrew], *and swear to the Lord of hosts. One* [for the first] *shall be called the city of destruction*, Isa. xx. 18. A strange name, *city of destruction!* upon so joyful an occasion, and a name never heard of in the land of Egypt, or perhaps in any other nation. The old reading was evidently the *city of the sun*, or *Heliopolis*; and Onkelos, in effect, and Symmachus with the Arabic version, entirely confess that to be the true reading. The Septuagint also, though they have the text disguised in the common copies, and call it *Asedek*, the *city of righteousness*; yet in

"And many other such things did he prophesy relating to that "place."

2. And this was what Onias wrote to king Ptolemy. Now any one may observe his piety, and that of his sister and wife Cleopatra's, by that epistle which they wrote in answer to it; for they laid the blame and the transgression of the law upon the head of Onias. And this was their reply: "King Ptolemy "and queen Cleopatra to Onias, send greeting: We have read "thy petition, wherein thou desirest leave to be given thee to "purge that temple which is fallen down at Leontopolis, in the "Nomus of Heliopolis, and which is named from the country "Bubastis; on which account we cannot but wonder that it "should be pleasing to God to have a temple erected in a "place so unclean, and so full of sacred animals: But since "thou sayest that Isaiah the prophet foretold this long ago, "we give thee leave to do it, if it may be done according to "your law, and so that we may not appear to have at all of-"fended God herein."

3. So Onias took the place, and built a temple, and an altar to God, like indeed to that in Jerusalem, but smaller and poorer. I do not think it proper for me now to describe its dimensions, or its vessels, which have been already described in my seventh book of the wars of the Jews. However, Onias found other Jews like to himself, together with priests and Levites, that there performed divine service. But we have said enough about this temple.

4. Now it came to pass that the Alexandrian Jews, and those Samaritans who paid their worship to the temple that was built in the days of Alexander at mount Gerizzim, did now make a sedition one against another, and disputed about their temples before Ptolemy himself, the Jews saying, that according to the laws of Moses, the temple was to be built at Jerusalem; and the Samaritans saying, that it was to be built at Gerizzim.— They desired therefore the king to sit with his friends, and hear

two or three other copies the Hebrew word itself for the *sun*, *Acheres*, *or Thares*, is preserved. And since Onias insists with the king and queen, that Isaiah's prophecy contained many other predictions relating to this place, besides the words by him recited; it is highly probable that these were especially meant by him; and that one main reason why he applied this prediction to himself, and to his prefecture of Heliopolis, which Dean Prideaux well proves was in that part of Egypt, and why he chose to build in that prefecture of Heliopolis, though otherwise an improper place, was this, that the same authority that he had for building this temple in Egypt, the very same he had for building it in his own prefecture of Heliopolis also, which he desired to do, and which he did accordingly. Dean Prideaux has much ado to avoid seeing this corruption of the Hebrew, but it being in support of his own opinion about this temple, he durst not see it; and indeed he reasons here in the most weak and injudicious manner possible. See him at the year 149.

the debates about these matters, and punish those with death who were baffled Now Sabbeus and Theodosius managed the argument for the Samaritans, and Andronicus, the son of Messalamus, for the people of Jerusalem; and they took an oath by God and the king, to make their demonstrations according to the law; and they desired of Ptolemy, that whomsoever he should find that transgressed what they had sworn to, he would put him to death. Accordingly the king took several of his friends into the council, and sat down, in order to hear what the pleaders said. Now the Jews that were at Alexandria were in great concern for those men; whose lot it was to contend for the temple at Jerusalem; for they took it very ill that any should take away the reputation of that temple, which was so ancient, and so celebrated all over the habitable earth. Now when Sabbeus and Theodosius had given leave to Andronicus to speak first, he began to demonstrate out of the law, and out of the successions of the high priests, how they every one in succession from his father had received that dignity, and ruled over the temple; and how all the kings of Asia had honoured that temple with their donations, and with the most splendid gifts dedicated thereto: But as for that at Gerizzim, he made no account of it, nor regarded it, as if it had never had a being. By this speech, and other arguments, Andronicus persuaded the king to * determine that the temple at Jerusalem was built according to the laws of Moses, and to put Sabbeus and Theodosius to death. And these were the events that befell the Jews at Alexandria in the days of Ptolemy Philometer.

* A very unfair disputation this! while the Jewish disputant, knowing that he could not properly prove out of the Pentateuch, that *the place which the Lord their God shall choose to place his name there,* so often referred to in the book of Deuteronomy, was Jerusalem any more than Gerizzim, that being not determined till the days of David, Antiq. B. VII. ch xiii. § 4. vol. I. proves only, what the Samaritans did not deny, that the temple at Jerusalem was much more ancient, and much more celebrated and honoured than that at Gerizzim which was nothing to the present purpose. The whole evidence, by the very oaths of both parties, being, we see, obliged to be confined to the law of Moses, or to the Pentateuch alone. However worldly policy and interest, and the multitude prevailing, the court gave sentence, as usual on the stronger side, and poor Sabbeus and Theodosius, the Samaritan disputants, were martyred, and this so far as appears, without any direct hearing at all, which is like the usual practice of such political courts about matters of religion. Our copies say, that the body of the Jews were in a great concern about *those men,* in the plural, who were to dispute for their temple at Jerusalem, whereas it seems here they had but one disputant, Andronicus by name: perhaps more were prepared to speak on the Jews' side; but the first having answered to his name, and *overcome* the Samaritans, there was no necessity for any other defender of the Jerusalem temple.

CHAP. IV.

How Alexander honoured Jonathan after an extraordinary manner, and how Demetrius, the son of Demetrius, overcame Alexander, and made a league of friendship with Jonathan.

§ 1. Demetrius being thus slain in battle, as we have above related, Alexander took the kingdom of Syria; and wrote to Ptolemy Philometer, and desired his daughter in marriage; and said, it was but just that he should be joined in affinity to one that had now received the principality of his forefathers, and had been promoted to it by God's providence, and had conquered Demetrius, and that was on other accounts not unworthy of being related to him. Ptolemy received this proposal of marriage gladly; and wrote him an answer, saluting him on account of his having received the principality of his forefathers; and promising him that he would give him his daughter in marriage; and assured him that he was coming to meet him at Ptolemais, and desired that he would there meet him, for that he would accompany her from Egypt so far, and would there marry his child to him. When Ptolemy had written thus, he came suddenly to Ptolemais, and brought his cousin Cleopatra along with him: and as he found Alexander there before him, as he desired him to come, he gave him his child in marriage, and for her portion gave her as much silver and gold as became such a king to give.

2. When the wedding was over, Alexander wrote to Jonathan the high priest, and desired him to come to Ptolemais.—So when he came to these kings, and had made them magnificent presents, he was honoured by them both. Alexander compelled him also to put off his own garment, and to take a purple garment, and made him sit with him in his throne; and commanded his captains that they should go with him into the middle of the city, and proclaim, that it was not permitted to any one to speak against him, or to give him any disturbance. And when the captains had thus done, those that were prepared to accuse Jonathan, and who bore him ill-will, when they saw the honour that was done him by proclamation, and that by the king's order, ran away, and were afraid lest some mischief should befall them. Nay, king Alexander was so very kind to Jonathan, that he set him down as the principal of his friends.

3. But then, upon the hundred and sixty-fifth year, Demetrius, the son of Demetrius, came from Crete with a great number of mercenary soldiers, which Lasthenes, the Cretian,

brought him, and sailed to Cilicia. This thing cast Alexander into great concern and disorder when he heard it; so he made haste immediately out of Phenicia and came to Antioch, that he might put matters in a safe posture there before Demetrius should come. He also left * Apollonius Daus governor of Celesyria, who coming to Jamnia with a great army, sent to Jonathan the high priest, and told him, That "it was not right that "he alone should live at rest, and with authority, and not be "subject to the king; and this thing had made him a reproach "among all men, that he had not yet made him subject to the "king. Do not thou therefore deceive thyself, and sit still "among the mountains, and pretend to have forces with thee: "but if thou hast any dependance on thy strength, come down "into the plain, and let our armies be compared together, and "the event of the battle will demonstrate which of us is the "most courageous. However, take notice, that the most valiant men of every city are in my army, and that these are "the very men who have always beaten thy progenitors; but let "us have the battle in such a place of the country where we may "fight with weapons, and not with stones, and where there may "be no place whither those that are beaten may fly."

4. With this Jonathan was irritated; and choosing himself out ten thousand of his soldiers, he went out of Jerusalem in haste with his brother Simon, and came to Joppa, and pitched his camp on the outside of the city, because the people of Joppa had shut their gates against him, for they had a garrison in the city put there by Apollonius; but when Jonathan was preparing to besiege them, they were afraid he would take them by force, and so they opened the gates to him. But Apollonius, when he heard that Joppa was taken by Jonathan, took three thousand horsemen, and eight thousand footmen, and came to Ashdod, and removing thence, he made his journey silently and slowly, and going up to Joppa, he made as if he was retiring from the place, and so drew Jonathan into the plain, as valuing himself highly upon his horsemen, and having his hopes of victory principally in them. However, Jonathan sallied out, and pursued Apollonius to Ashdod; but as soon as Apollonius perceived that his enemy was in the plain, he came back and gave him battle: but Apollonius had laid a thousand horsemen in ambush in a valley, that they might not be seen by their enemies as

* Of the several *Apollonii* about these ages, see Dean Prideaux at the year 148. This Apollonius Daus was, by his account the son of that Apollonius who had been made governor of Celesyria and Phenicia by Seleucus Philopator, and was himself a confident of his son Demetrius the father, and restored to his father's government by him, but afterwards revolted from him to Alexander, but not to Demetrius the son, as he supposes.

behind them: which when Jonathan perceived, he was under no consternation, but ordering his army to stand in a square battle array, he gave them a charge to fall on the enemy on both sides, and set them to face those that attacked them both before and behind: And while the fight lasted till the evening, he gave part of his forces to his brother Simon, and ordered him to attack the enemies, but for himself, he charged those that were with them to cover themselves with their armour, and receive the darts of the horsemen, who did as they were commanded; so that the enemies' horsemen, while they threw their darts till they had no more left, did them no harm, for the darts that were thrown did not enter into their bodies, being thrown upon the shields, that were united and conjoined together, the closeness of which easily overcame the force of the darts, and they flew about without any effect. But when the enemy grew remiss in throwing their darts from morning till late at night, Simon perceived their weariness, and fell upon the body of men before him; and because his soldiers shewed great alacrity, he put the enemy to flight, and when the horsemen saw that the footmen ran away, neither did they stay themselves, but they being very weary, by the duration of the fight till the evening, and their hope from the footmen being quite gone, they basely ran away, and in great confusion also, till they were separated one from another, and scattered over all the plain. Upon which Jonathan pursued them as far as Ashdod, and slew a great many of them, and compelled the rest, in despair of escaping, to fly to the temple of Dagon, which was at Ashdod; but Jonathan took the city on the first onset, and burnt it, and the villages about it, nor did he abstain from the temple of Dagon itself, and burnt it also, and destroyed those that had fled to it. Now the entire multitude of the enemies that fell in the battle, and were consumed in the temple, were eight thousand. When Jonathan therefore had overcome so great an army, he removed from Ashdod, and came to Askelon: and when he had pitched his camp without the city, the people of Askelon came out and met him, bringing him hospitable presents, and honouring him; so he accepted of their kind intentions, and returned thence to Jerusalem with a great deal of prey, which he brought thence when he conquered his enemies: but when Alexander heard that Apollonius the general of his army, was beaten, he pretended to be glad of it, because he had fought with Jonathan his friend and ally against his directions. Accordingly, he sent to Jonathan, and gave testimony to his worth; and gave him honorary rewards, as a *

* Dr. Hudson here observes, that the Phenicians and Romans used to reward such as had deserved well of them, by presenting to them a *golden button*. See chap. v. § 4.

golden button, which it is the custom to give the king's kinsmen; and allowed him Ekron, and its toparchy, for his own inheritance.

5. About this time it was that king Ptolemy, who was called Philometer, led an army, part by the sea, and part by land, and came to Syria, to the assistance of Alexander, who was his son-in-law; and accordingly all the cities received him willingly, as Alexander had commanded them to do, and conducted him as far as Ashdod; where they all made loud complaints about the temple of Dagon, which was burnt, and accused Jonathan of having laid it waste, and destroyed the country adjoining with fire, and slain a great number of them. Ptolemy heard these accusations, but said nothing. Jonathan also went to meet Ptolemy as far as Joppa, and obtained from him hospitable presents, and those glorious in their kinds, with all the marks of honour. And when he had conducted him as far as the river called Eleutherus, he returned again to Jerusalem.

6. But as Ptolemy was at Ptolemais, he was very near to a most unexpected destruction, for a treacherous design was laid for his life by Alexander, by the means of Ammonius, who was his friend; and as the treachery was very plain, Ptolemy wrote to Alexander, and required of him that he should bring Ammonius to condign punishment, informing him what snares had been laid for him by Ammonius, and desiring that he might be accordingly punished for it. But when Alexander did not comply with his demands, he perceived that it was he himself who laid the design, and was very angry at him. Alexander had also formerly been in very ill terms with the people of Antioch, for they had suffered very much by his means; yet did Ammonius at length undergo the punishment his insolent crimes had deserved, for he was killed in an opprobrious manner, like a woman, while he endeavoured to conceal himself in a feminine habit, as we have elsewhere related.

7. Hereupon Ptolemy blamed himself for having given his daughter in marriage to Alexander, and for the league he had made with him to assist him against Demetrius; so he dissolved his relation to him, and took his daughter away from him, and immediately sent to Demetrius, and offered to make a league of mutual assistance and friendship with him, and agreed with him to give him his daughter in marriage, and to restore him to the principality of his fathers. Demetrius was well pleased with this embassage, and accepted of his assistance, and of the marriage of his daughter. But Ptolemy had still one more hard task to do, and that was to persuade the people of Antioch to receive Demetrius, because they were greatly displeased at him, on

account of the injuries his father Demetrius had done them; yet did he bring this about; for as the people of Antioch hated Alexander on Ammonius's account, as we have shewed already, they were easily prevailed with to cast him out of Antioch; who thus expelled out of Antioch, came into Cilicia. Ptolemy came then to Antioch, and was made king by its inhabitants, and by the army; so that he was forced to put on two diadems, the one of Asia, the other of Egypt: but being naturally a good and a righteous man, and not desirous of what belonged to others, and besides these dispositions, being also a wise man in reasoning about futurities, he determined to avoid the envy of the Romans, so he called the people of Antioch together to an assembly, and persuaded them to receive Demetrius; and assured them, that "he would not be mindful of what they did to his father in case "he should now be obliged by them; and he undertook that he "would himself be a good monitor and governor to him; and "promised that he would not permit him to attempt any bad "actions; but that for his own part, he was contented with the "kingdom of Egypt." By which discourse he persuaded the people of Antioch to receive Demetrius.

8. But now Alexander made haste with a numerous and great army, and came out of Cilicia into Syria, and burnt the country belonging to Antioch, and pillaged it; whereupon Ptolemy, and his son-in-law Demetrius, brought their army against him, (for he had already given him his daughter in marriage,) and beat Alexander, and put him to flight: and accordingly he fled into Arabia. Now it happened, in the time of battle, that Ptolemy's horse, upon hearing the noise of an elephant, cast him off his back, and threw him on the ground; upon the sight of which accident, his enemies fell upon him, and gave him many wounds upon his head, and brought him into danger of death; for when his guards caught him up, he was so very ill, that for four days' time he was not able either to understand, or to speak. However, Zabdiel, a prince among the Arabians, cut off Alexander's head, and sent it to Ptolemy, who recovering of his wounds, and returning to his understanding on the fifth day, heard at once a most agreeable hearing, and saw a most agreeable sight, which were the death and the head of Alexander; yet a little after this his joy for the death of Alexander, with which he was so greatly satisfied, he also departed this life. Now, Alexander, who was called Balas, reigned over Asia five years; as we have elsewhere related.

9. But when Demetrius, who was styled * *Nicator*, had taken the kingdom, he was so wicked as to treat Ptolemy's sol-

* This name *Demetrius Nicator*, or *Demetrius the conqueror*, is so written on

diers very hardly, neither remembering the league of mutual assistance that was between them, nor that he was his son-in-law and kinsman, by Cleopatra's marriage to him; so the soldiers fled from his wicked treatment to Alexandria, but Demetrius kept his elephants. But Jonathan the high priest, levied an army out of all Judea, and attacked the citadel at Jerusalem, and besieged it; it was held by a garrison of Macedonians, and by some of those wicked men who had deserted the customs of their forefathers. These men at first despised the attempts of Jonathan for taking the place, as depending on its strength; but some of those wicked men went out by night and came to Demetrius, and informed him, that the citadel was besieged; who was irritated with what he heard, and took his army, and came from Antioch, against Jonathan. And when he was at Antioch, he wrote to him, and commanded him to come to him quickly to Ptolemais: upon which Jonathan did not intermit the siege of the citadel, but took with him the elders of the people, and the priests, and carried with him gold, and silver, and garments, and a great number of presents of friendship, and came to Demetrius, and presented him with them, and thereby pacified the king's anger. So he was honoured by him, and received from him the confirmation of his high priesthood, as he had possessed it by the grants of the kings his predecessors. And when the Jewish deserters accused him, Demetrius was so far from giving credit to them, that when he petitioned him that he would demand no more than three hundred talents for the tribute of all Judea, and the three toparchies of Samaria and Perea, and Galilee, he complied with the proposal, and gave him a letter confirming all those grants, whose contents were as follows: "King Demetrius to Jonathan his brother, and to the nation of "the Jews, sendeth greeting: We have sent you a copy of that "epistle which we have written to Lasthenes our kinsman, that "you may know its contents. King Demetrius to Lasthenes our "father, sendeth greeting: I have determined to return thanks, "and to shew favour to the nation of the Jews, which hath observed the rules of justice in our concerns. Accordingly, I remit "to them the three prefectures, Apherimo, and Lydda, and Ramatha, which have been added to Judea out of Samaria, with "their appurtenances: As also what the kings my predecessors "received from those that offered sacrifices in Jerusalem, and "what are due from the fruits of the earth, and of the trees, "and what else belongs to us; with the salt pits and the crowns "that used to be presented to us! Nor shall they be compelled

his coins still extant; as Hudson and Spanheim informs us; the latter of whom gives us here the entire inscription, *King Demetrius the God, Philadelphus Nicator.*

"to pay any of these taxes from this time to all futurity.—"Take care therefore that a copy of this epistle be taken, and "given to Jonathan, and be set up in an eminent place of their "holy temple." And these were the contents of this writing. And now when Demetrius saw that there was peace every where; and that there was no danger, nor fear of war, he disbanded the greatest part of his army, and diminished their pay, and even retained in pay no others but such foreigners as came up with him from Crete, and from the other islands. However, this procured him ill-will and hatred from the soldiers, on whom he bestowed nothing from this time, while the kings before him used to pay them in time of peace, as they did before, that they might have their good-will, and that they might be very ready to undergo the difficulties of war, if any occasion should require it.

CHAP. V.

How Trypho, after he had beaten Demetrius, delivered the kingdom to Antiochus, the son of Alexander, and gained Jonathan for his assistant: And concerning the actions and embassies of Jonathan.

§ 1. Now there was a certain commander of Alexander's forces, an Apenemian by birth, whose name was *Diodotus*, and was also called *Trypho*, took notice of the ill-will the soldiers bare to Demetrius, and went to Malchus the Arabian, who brought up Antiochus the son of Alexander, and told him what ill-will the army bare Demetrius, and persuaded him to give him Antiochus, because he would make him king, and recover to him the kingdom of his father. Malchus at the first opposed him in this attempt, because he could not believe him, but when Trypho lay hard at him for a long time, he over-persuaded him, to comply with Trypho's intentions and entreaties. And this was the state Trypho was now in.

2. But Jonathan the high priest, being desirous to get clear of those that were in the citadel at Jerusalem, and of the Jewish deserters, and wicked men, as well as of those in all the garrisons in the country, sent presents and ambassadors to Demetrius, and entreated him to take away his soldiers out of the strong holds of Judea. Demetrius made answer, That after the war, which he was now deeply engaged in, was over, he would not only grant him that, but greater things than that also, and he desired he would send him some assistance; and informed him that his army had deserted him. So Jonathan chose out three thousand of his soldiers, and sent them to Demetrius.

3. Now the people of Antioch hated Demetrius, both on account of what mischief he had himself done them, and because they were his enemies also on account of his father Demetrius, who had greatly abused them, so they watched some opportunity which they might lay hold on, to fall upon him. And when they were informed of the assistance that was coming to Demetrius from Jonathan, and considered at the same time that he would raise a numerous army, unless they prevented him, and seized upon him, they took their weapons immediately, and encompassed his palace in the way of a siege, and seizing upon all the ways of getting out, they sought to subdue their king. And when he saw that the people of Antioch were become his bitter enemies, and that they were thus in arms, he took the mercenary soldiers which he had with him, and those Jews who were sent by Jonathan, and assaulted the Antiochians; but he was overpowered by them, for they were many ten thousands, and was beaten. But when the Jews saw that the Antiochians were superior, they went up to the top of the palace, and shot at them from thence; and because they were so remote from them by their height, that they suffered nothing on their side, but did great execution on the others, as fighting from such an elevation, they drove them out of the adjoining houses, and immediately set them on fire, whereupon the flame spread itself over the whole city, and burnt it all down. This happened by reason of the closeness of the houses, and because they were generally built of wood: so the Antiochians, when they were not able to help themselves, nor to stop the fire, were put to flight. And as the Jews leaped from the top of one house to the top of another, and pursued them after that manner, it thence happened that the pursuit was so very surprising. But when the king saw that the Antiochians were very busy in saving their children and their wives, and so did not fight any longer, he fell upon them in the narrow passages, and fought them, and slew a great many of them, till at last they were forced to throw down their arms, and to deliver themselves up to Demetrius. So he forgave them this their insolent behaviour, and put an end to the sedition: and when he had given rewards to the Jews out of the rich spoils he had gotten, and had returned them thanks, as the cause of his victory, he sent them away to Jerusalem, to Jonathan, with an ample testimony of the assistance they had afforded him. Yet did he prove an ill man to Jonathan afterward, and broke the promises he had made; and he threatened that he would make war upon him, unless he would pay all that tribute which the Jewish nation owed to the first kings [of Syria.] And this he had done, if Trypho had not hindered him, and diverted his preparations

against Jonathan, to a concern for his own preservation: for he now returned out of Arabia into Syria, with the child Antiochus, for he was in age but a youth, and put the diadem on his head: And as the whole forces that had left Demetrius, because they had no pay, came to his assistance, he made war upon Demetrius and joining battle with him, overcame him in the fight, and took from him both his elephants and the city Antioch.

4. Demetrius, upon this defeat, retired into Cilicia: but the child Antiochus sent ambassadors, and an epistle to Jonathan, and made him his friend and confederate, and confirmed to him the high priesthood, and yielded up to him the four prefectures which had been added to Judea. Moreover he sent him vessels and cups of gold, and a purple garment; and gave him leave to use them. He also presented him with a golden button, and styled him one of his principal friends, and appointed his brother Simon to be the general over the forces, from the ladder of Tyre unto Egypt. So Jonathan was so well pleased with these grants made him by Antiochus, that he sent ambassadors to him, and to Trypho, and professed himself to be their friend and confederate, and said he would join with him in a war against Demetrius, informing him that he had made no proper returns for the kindnesses he had done him; for that when he had received many marks of kindness from him, when he stood in great need of them, he for such good turns, had requited him with farther injuries.

5. So Antiochus gave Jonathan leave to raise himself a numerous army out of Syria and Phenicia, and to make war against Demetrius's generals; whereupon he went in haste to the several cities, which received him splendidly indeed, but put no forces into his hands. And when he was come from thence to Askelon, the inhabitants of Askelon came and brought him presents, and met him in a splendid manner. He exhorted them, and every one of the cities of Celesyria, to forsake Demetrius, and to join with Antiochus; and in assisting him, to endeavour to punish Demetrius for what offences he had been guilty of against themselves; and told them there were many reasons for that their procedure, if they had a mind so to do. And when he had persuaded those cities to promise their assistance to Antiochus, he came to Gaza, in order to induce them also to be friends to Antiochus; but he found the inhabitants of Gaza much more alienated from him than he expected, for they had shut their gates against him, and although they had deserted Demetrius, they had not resolved to join themselves to Antiochus. This provoked Jonathan to besiege them, and to harass their country, for as he set a part of his army round about Gaza, itself, so with the rest he over-ran their land, and spoiled it, and burnt what

was in it. When the inhabitants of Gaza saw themselves in this state of affliction, and that no assistance came to them from Demetrius, that what distressed them was at hand, but what should profit them was still at a great distance, and it was uncertain whether it would come at all or not, they thought it would be prudent conduct to leave off any longer continuance with him, and to cultivate friendship with the other; so they sent to Jonathan, and professed they would be his friends, and afford him assistance; for such is the temper of men, that before they have had the trial of great afflictions, they do not understand what is for their advantage; but when they find themselves under such afflictions, they then change their minds, and what it had been better for them to have done before they had been at all damaged, they choose to do, but not till after they have suffered such damages. However, he made a league of friendship with them, and took from them hostages for their performance of it, and sent these hostages to Jerusalem, while he went himself over all the country as far as Damascus.

6. But when he heard that the generals of Demetrius's forces were come to the city Kadesh with a numerous army, (the place lies between the land of the Tyrians and Galilee,) for they supposed they should hereby draw him out of Syria, in order to preserve Galilee, and that he would not overlook the Galileans, who were his own people, when war was made upon them, he went to meet them, having left Simon in Judea, who raised as great an army as he was able out of the country, and then sat down before Bethsura, and besieged it, that being the strongest place in all Judea; and a garrison of Demetrius's kept it, as we have already related. But as Simon was raising banks, and bringing his engines of war against Bethsura, and was very earnest about the siege of it, the garrison was afraid lest the place should be taken of Simon by force, and they put to the sword; so they sent to Simon, and desired the security of his oath, that they should come to no harm from him, and that they would leave the place, and go away to Demetrius. Accordingly he gave them his oath, and ejected them out of the city, and he put therein a garrison of his own.

7. But Jonathan removed out of Galilee, and from the waters which are called Gennesar, for there he was before encamped, and came into the plain that is called Asor, without knowing that the enemy was there. When therefore Demetrius's men knew a day before-hand, that Jonathan was coming against them, they laid an ambush in the mountain, who were to assault him on the sudden, while they themselves met him with an army in the plain: which army when Jonathan saw ready to engage him, he also got ready his own soldiers for the

battle as well as he was able; but those that were laid in ambush by Demetrius's generals being behind them, the Jews were afraid lest they should be caught in the midst between two bodies, and perish, so they ran away in haste, and indeed all the rest left Jonathan; but a few there were, in number about fifty, who staid with him, and with them Mattathias the son of Absalom, and Judas the son of Chapseus, who were commanders of the whole army. These marched boldly, and like men desperate, against the enemy, and so pushed them, that by their courage they daunted them, and with their weapons in their hands, they put them to flight. And when those soldiers of Jonathan that had retired, saw the enemy giving way, they got together after their flight, and pursued them with great violence, and this did they as far as Kadesh, where the camp of the enemy lay.

8. Jonathan having thus gotten a glorious victory, and slain two thousand of the enemy, returned to Jerusalem. So when he saw that all his affairs prospered, according to his mind, by the providence of God, he sent ambassadors to the Romans, being desirous of renewing that friendship which their nation had with them formerly. He enjoined the same ambassadors, that, as they came back, they should go to the Spartans, and put them in mind of their friendship and kindred. So when the ambassadors came to Rome, they went into their senate, and said what they were commanded by Jonathan the high priest to say, how he had sent them to confirm their friendship. The senate then confirmed what had been formerly decreed concerning their friendship with the Jews; and gave them letters to carry to all the kings of Asia and Europe, and to the governors of the cities, that they might safely conduct them to their own country.—Accordingly, as they returned, they came to Sparta, and delivered the epistle which they had received of Jonathan to them; a copy of which here follows: "Jonathan the high priest of the "Jewish nation, and the senate, and body of the people of the "Jews, to the *ephori* and senate, and people of the Lacedemon-"ians, send greeting: If you be well, and both your public and "private affairs be agreeable to your mind, it is according to "our wishes. We are well also. When in former times an "epistle was brought to Onias, who was then our high priest, "from Areus, who at that time was your king, by Demoteles, "concerning the kindred that was between us and you, a copy "of which is here subjoined we both joyfully received the "epistle, and were well pleased with Demoteles and Areus, al"though we did not need such a demonstration, because * we

* This clause is otherwise rendered in the first book of Maccabees, xii. 9. "For that we have the holy books of scripture in our hands to comfort us." The Hebrew

"were satisfied about it from the sacred writings, yet did "not we think fit, first to begin the claim of this relation to you, "lest we should seem too early in taking to ourselves the glory "which is now given us by you. It is a long time since this "relation of ours to you hath been renewed; and when we, "upon holy and festival days, offer sacrifices to God, we pray "to him for your preservation and victory. As to ourselves, "although we have had many wars that have compassed us "around, by reason of the covetousness of our neighbours, yet "did we not determine to be troublesome either to you, or to "others that were related to us; but since we have now over-"come our enemies, and have occasion to send Numenius, the "son of Antiochus, and Antipater the son of Jason, who are "both honourable men belonging to our senate, to the Romans, "we gave them this epistle to you also, that they might renew "that friendship which is between us. You will therefore do "well yourselves to write to us, and send us an account of what "you stand in need of from us, since we are in all things, dis-"posed to act according to your desires." So the Lacedemonians received the ambassadors kindly, and made a decree for friendship and mutual assistance, and sent it to them.

9. At this time there were three sects among the Jews, who had different opinions concerning human actions; the one was called the sect of the *Pharisees*, another the sect of the *Sadducees*, and the other the sect of the *Essens*. Now for the * Pharisees,

original being lost, we cannot certainly judge which was the truest version, only the coherence favours Josephus. But if this were the Jews' meaning, that they were satisfied out of their Bible that the Jews and Lacedemonians were of kin, that part of their Bible is now lost, for we find no such assertion in our present copies.

* Those that suppose Josephus to contradict himself in his three several accounts of the notions of the Pharisees, this here, and that earlier one, which is the largest, of the War, B. II. chap. viii. § 14. vol. III. and the latter, Antiq. B. XVIII. chap. i. § 5. vol. III. as if he sometimes said they introduced an absolute fatality, and denied all freedom of human actions, is almost wholly groundless; he ever, as the very learned Casaubon here truly observes, asserting, that the Pharisees were between the Essens and Sadducees, and did so far ascribe all to fate or divine providence as was consistent with the freedom of human actions. However, their perplexed way of talking about fate or providence, as over-ruling all things, made it commonly thought they were willing to excuse their sins by ascribing them to fate, as in the Apostolical Constitutions, B. VI. chap. vi. Perhaps under the same general name some difference of opinions in this point might be propagated, as is very common in all parties, especially in points of metaphysical subtilty: However our Josephus, who in his heart was a great admirer of the piety of the Essens, was yet in practice a Pharisee, as he himself informs us, in his own life, § 2. vol. III. And his account of this doctrine of the Pharisees, is for certain agreeable to his own opinion, who ever both fully allowed the freedom of human actions, and yet strongly believed the powerful interposition of divine providence. See concerning this matter a remarkable clause, Antiq. B. XVI. Chap. xi. sect. 7.

they say that some actions, but not all, are the work of fate, and some of them are in our own power, and that they are liable to fate, but are not caused by fate. But the sect of the Essens affirm, that fate governs all things, and that nothing befalls men but what is according to its determination. And for the Sadducees they take away fate and say there is no such thing, and that the events of human affairs are not at its disposal, but they suppose that all our actions are in our own power, so that we are ourselves the causes of what is good, and receive what is evil from our own folly. However, I have given a more exact account of these opinions in the second book of the Jewish war.

10. But now the generals of Demetrius being willing to recover the defeat they had had, gathered a greater army together than they had before, and came against Jonathan; but as soon as he was informed of their coming, he went suddenly to meet them, to the country of Hamoth, for he resolved to give them no opportunity of coming into Judea, so he pitched his camp at fifty furlongs distant from the enemy, and sent out spies to take a view of their camp, and after what manner they were encamped. When his spies had given him full information, and had seized upon some of them by night, who told him the enemy would soon attack him, he, thus apprized before-hand, provided for his security, and placed watchmen beyond his camp, and kept all his forces armed all night; and he gave them a charge to be of good courage, and to have their minds prepared to fight in the night time, if they should be obliged to do so, lest their enemies' designs should seem concealed from them. But when Demetrius's commanders were informed, that Jonathan knew what they intended, their counsels were disordered, and it alarmed them to find, that the enemy had discovered those their intentions, nor did they expect to overcome them any other way, now they had failed in the snares they had laid for them; for should they hazard an open battle, they did not think they should be a match for Jonathan's army, so they resolved to fly: and having lighted many fires, that when the enemy saw them they might suppose they were there still, they retired.—But when Jonathan came to give them battle in the morning in their camp, and found it deserted, and understood they were fled, he pursued them, yet he could not overtake them, for they had already passed over the river Eleutherus, and were out of danger. So when Jonathan was returned thence, he went into Arabia, and fought against the Nabateans, and drove away a great deal of their prey, and took [many] captives, and came to Damascus, and there sold off that he had taken. About the same time it was, that Simon his brother went over all Judea and Palestine, as far as Askelon, and fortified the strong holds; and when he

had made them very strong, both in the edifices erected, and in the garrisons placed in them, he came to Joppa, and when he had taken it, he brought a great garrison into it, for he heard that the people of Joppa were disposed to deliver up the city to Demetrius's generals.

11. When Simon and Jonathan had finished these affairs, they returned to Jerusalem, where Jonathan gathered all the people together, and took counsel to restore the walls of Jerusalem, and to rebuild the wall that encompassed the temple, which had been thrown down, and to make the places adjoining stronger by very high towers; and besides that, to build another wall in the midst of the city; in order to exclude the market-place from the garrison, which was in the citadel, and by that means to hinder them from any plenty of provisions; and moreover, to make the fortresses that were in the country much stronger, and more defensible, than they were before. And when these things were approved of by the multitude, as rightly proposed, Jonathan himself took care of the building that belonged to the city, and sent Simon away to make the fortresses in the country more secure than formerly. But Demetrius passed over [Euphrates], and came into Mesopotamia, as desirous to retain that country still, as well as Babylon; and when he should have obtained the dominion of his upper provinces, to lay a foundation for recovering his entire kingdom; for those Greeks and Macedonians who dwelt there, frequently sent ambassadors to him, and promised, that if he would come to them, they would deliver themselves up to him, and assist him in fighting against * Arsaces, the king of the Parthians. So he was elevated with these hopes, and came hastily to them, as having resolved that, if he had once overthrown the Parthians, and gotten an army of his own, he would make war against Trypho, and eject him out of Syria; and the people of that country received him with great alacrity. So he raised forces, with which he fought against Arsaces, and lost all his army, and was himself taken alive, as we have elsewhere related.

* This king, who was of the famous race of Arsaces, is both here, and 1 Mac. xiv. 2. called by the family name *Arsaces*, but Appion says, his proper name was *Phraates*. He is here also called by Josephus the *king of the Parthians*, as the Greeks used to call them, but by the elder author of the first Maccabees the *king of the Persians and Medes*, according to the language of the eastern nations. See Authent. Rec. part II. p. 1108.

CHAP. VI.

How Jonathan was slain by treachery; and how thereupon the Jews made Simon their general and high priest: what courageous actions also he performed, especially against Trypho.

§ 1. Now when Trypho knew what had befallen Demetrius, he was no longer firm to Antiochus, but contrived by subtilty to kill him, and then take possession of his kingdom; but the fear that he was in of Jonathan was an obstacle to this his design, for Jonathan was a friend to Antiochus, for which cause he resolved first to take Jonathan out of the way, and then to set about his design relating to Antiochus; but he judging it best to take him off by deceit and treachery, came from Antioch to Bethshan, which by the Greeks is called *Scythopolis*, at which place Jonathan met him with forty thousand chosen men, for he thought that he came to fight him; but when he perceived that Jonathan was ready to fight, he attempted to gain him by presents, and kind treatment, and gave order to his captains to obey him, and by these means was desirous to give assurance of his good-will, and to take away all suspicions out of his mind, that so he might make him careless and inconsiderate, and might take him when he was unguarded. He also advised him to dismiss his army, because there was no occasion for bringing it with him when there was no war, but all was in peace. However, he desired him to retain a few about him, and go with him to Ptolemais, for that he would deliver the city up to him, and would bring all the fortresses that were in the country under his dominion; and he told him, that he came with those very designs.

2. Yet did not Jonathan suspect any thing at all by this his management, but believed that Trypho gave him this advice out of kindness, and with a sincere design. Accordingly, he dismissed his army; and retained no more than three thousand of them with him, and left two thousand in Galilee, and he himself, with one thousand, came with Trypho to Ptolemais: But when the people of Ptolemais, had shut their gates, as it had been commanded by Trypho to do, he took Jonathan alive, and slew all that were with him. He also sent soldiers against those two thousand that were left in Galilee, in order to destroy them: but those men having heard the report of what had happened to Jonathan, they prevented the execution, and before those that were sent by Trypho came, they covered themselves with their armour, and went away out of the country. Now when those that were sent against them saw that they were ready to fight for their lives, they gave them no disturbance, but returned back to Trypho.

3. But when the people of Jerusalem heard that Jonathan was taken, and that the soldiers who were with him were destroyed, they deplored his sad fate, and there was earnest inquiry made about him by every body, and a great and just fear fell upon them, and made them sad, lest, now they were deprived of the courage and conduct of Jonathan, the nations about them should bear them ill-will; and as they were before quiet on account of Jonathan, they should now rise up against them, and by making war with them, should force them into the utmost dangers. And indeed what they suspected really befell them, for when those nations heard of the death of Jonathan, they began to make war with the Jews as now destitute of a governor; and Trypho himself got an army together, and had an intention to go up to Judea; and make war against its inhabitants. But when Simon saw that the people of Jerusalem were terrified at the circumstances they were in, he desired to make a speech to them, and thereby to render them more resolute in opposing Trypho when he should come against them. He then called the people together into the temple, and thence began thus to encourage them, "O my countrymen, you are not ignorant that our father, myself, and my brethren, have ventured to hazard our lives, and that willingly, for the recovery of your liberty; since I have therefore such plenty of examples before me, and we of our family have determined with ourselves to die for our laws, and our divine worship, there shall no terror be so great as to banish this resolution from our souls, nor to introduce in its place a love of life, and a contempt of glory. Do you therefore follow me with alacrity whithersover I shall lead you, as not destitute of such a captain as is willing to suffer, and to do the greatest things for you; for neither am I better than my brethren that I should be sparing of my own life, nor so far worse than they as to avoid and refuse what they thought the most honourable of all things, I mean to undergo death for your laws, and for that worship of God which is peculiar to you; I will therefore give such proper demonstrations as will shew that I am their own brother; and I am so bold as to expect that I shall avenge their blood upon our enemies, and deliver you all with your wives and children, from the injuries they intend against you, and with God's assistance, to preserve your temple from destruction by them, for I see that these nations have you in contempt, as being without a governor, and that they thence are encouraged to make war against you."

4. By this speech of Simon's he inspired the multitude with courage, and as they had been before dispirited through fear, they were now raised to a good hope of better things, insomuch, that the whole multitude of the people cried out all at once, that Simon

should be their leader; and that instead of Judas and Jonathan his brethren, he should have the government over them: and they promised that they would readily obey him in whatsoever he should command them. So he got together immediately all his own soldiers that were fit for war, and made haste in rebuilding the walls of the city, and strengthening them by very high and strong towers, and sent a friend of his, one Jonathan the son of Absalom, to Joppa, and gave him order to eject the inhabitants out of the city, for he was afraid lest they should deliver up the city to Trypho, but he himself stayed to secure Jerusalem.

5. But Trypho removed from Ptolemais with a great army, and came into Judea, and brought Jonathan with him in bonds. Simon also met him with his army at the city Adida, which is upon an hill, and beneath it lie the plains of Judea. And when Trypho knew that Simon was by the Jews made their governor, he sent to him, and would have imposed upon him by deceit and treachery; and desired him, if he would have his brother Jonathan released, that he would send him an hundred talents of silver, and two of Jonathan's sons as hostages, that when he shall be released, he may not make Judea revolt from the king, for that at present he was kept in bonds on account of the money he had borrowed of the king, and now owed it to him. But Simon was aware of the craft of Trypho, and although he knew that if he gave him the money he should lose it, and that Trypho would not set his brother free, and withal, should deliver the sons of Jonathan to the enemy, yet because he was afraid that he should have a calumny raised against him among the multitude as the cause of his brother's death, if he neither gave the money, nor sent Jonathan's sons, he gathered his army together, and told them what offers Trypho had made, and added this, that the offers were ensnaring and treacherous, and yet that it was more eligible to send the money and Jonathan's sons than to be liable to the imputation of not complying with Trypho's offers, and thereby refusing to save his brother. Accordingly, Simon sent the sons of Jonathan and the money; but when Trypho had received them; he did not keep his promise, nor set Jonathan free, but took his army, and went about all the country, and resolved to go afterward to Jerusalem by the way of Idumea, while Simon went over against him with his army, and all along pitched his own camp over against his.

6. But when those that were in the citadel had sent to Trypho, and besought him to make haste and come to them, and to send them provisions, he prepared his cavalry as though he would be at Jerusalem that very night, but so great a quantity of snow fell in the night, that it covered the roads, and made them so deep, that there was no passing, especially for the cavalry. This

hindered him from coming to Jerusalem; whereupon Trypho removed thence, and came into Celesyria, and falling vehemently upon the land of Gilead, he slew Jonathan there, and when he had given order for his burial, he returned himself to Antioch. However, Simon sent some to the city Basca to bring away his brother's bones, and buried them in their own city Modin; and all the people made great lamentation over him.—Simon also erected a very large monument for his father and his brethren, of white and polished stone, and raised it a great height, and so as to be seen a long way off, and made cloisters about it, and set up pillars, which were of one stone a-piece; a work it was wonderful to see. Moreover, he built seven pyramids also for his parents and his brethren, one for each of them, which were made very surprising, both for their largeness and beauty, and which have been preserved to this day; and we know that it was Simon who bestowed so much zeal about the burial of Jonathan, and the building of these monuments for his relations. Now Jonathan died when he had been high priest * four years, and had been also the governor of his nation. And these were the circumstances that concerned his death.

7. But Simon, who was made high priest by the multitude, on the very first year of his high priesthood set his people free from their slavery under the Macedonians, and permitted them to pay tribute to them no longer; which liberty and freedom from tribute they obtained after an † hundred and seventy years of the kingdom of the Assyrians, which was after Seleucus, who

* There is some error in the copies here, when no more than four years are ascribed to the high priesthood of Jonathan. We know by Josephus's last Jewish chronology, Antiq. B. XX. chap. x. vol. III. that there was an interval of seven years between the death of Alcimus or Jacimus, the last high priest, and the real priesthood of Jonathan, to whom yet those seven years seem here to be ascribed, as a part of them were to Judas before, Antiq. B. XII. chap. x. sect. 6. vol. II. Now since, besides these seven years' *interregnum* in the pontificate, we are told, Antiq. B. XX. chap. x. that Jonathan's real high priesthood lasted seven years more; these two seven years will make up fourteen years, which I suppose was Josephus's own number in this place, instead of the four in our present copies.

† These 170 years of the Assyrians mean no more, as Josephus explains himself here, than from the æra of Seleucus, which, as it is known to have began on the 312th year before the Christian æra, from its spring in the first book of Maccabees, and from its autumn in the second book of Maccabees, so did it not begin at Babylon till the next spring, on the 311th year. See Prid. at the year 312. And it is truly observed by Dr. Hudson on this place, that the Syrians and Assyrians are sometimes confounded in ancient authors, according to the words of Justin the epitomizer of Trogus Pompeius, who says, That "the Assyrians were afterwards called *Syrians*," B. I. ch. xi. See Of the War, B. V. ch. ix. sect. 4. vol. IV. where the Philistines themselves, at the very south limit of Syria, in its utmost extent, are called *Assyrians* by Josephus, as Spanheim observes.

was called Nicator, got the dominion over Syria. Now the affection of the multitude towards Simon was so great, that in their contracts one with another, and in the public records, they wrote, "In the first year of Simon the benefactor and ethnarch "of the Jews:" for under him they were very happy, and overcame the enemies that were round about them, for Simon overthrew the city Gazara, and Joppa, and Jamnia. He also took the citadel of Jerusalem by siege, and cast it down to the ground, that it might not be any more a place of refuge to their enemies when they took it, to do them a mischief, as it had been till now. And when he had done this, he thought it their best way, and most for their advantage, to level the very mountain itself upon which the citadel happened to stand, that so the temple might be higher than it. And indeed, when he had called the multitude to an assembly, he persuaded them to have it so demolished, and this by putting them in mind what miseries they had suffered by its garrison, and the Jewish deserters, and what miseries they might hereafter suffer in case any foreigner should obtain the kingdom, and put a garrison into that citadel. This speech induced the multitude to a compliance, because he exhorted them to do nothing but what was for their own good: so they all set themselves to the work, and levelled the mountain, and in that work spent both day and night without any intermission, which cost him three whole years before it was removed, and brought to an entire level with the plain of the rest of the city. After which the temple was the highest of all the buildings, now the citadel, as well as the mountain whereon it stood, were demolished. And these actions were thus performed under Simon.

CHAP. VII.

How Simon confederated himself with Antiochus Pius, and made war against Trypho: and a little afterward against Cendebeus, the general of Antiochus's army: As also how Simon was murdered by his son-in-law Ptolemy, and that by treachery.

§ 1. * Now a little while after Demetrius had been carried

* It must here be diligently noted, that Josephus's copy of the first book of Maccabeus, which he had so carefully followed, and faithfully abridged, as far as the 50th verse of the twelfth chapter, seems there to have ended. What few things there are afterward common to both, might probably be learned by him from some other more imperfect records. However, we must exactly observe here, what the remaining part of that book of the Maccabees informs us of, and what Josephus would never have omitted, had his copy contained so much, that this Simon the Great, the Maccabee, made a league with Antiochus Soter, the son of Demetrius Soter, and brother of the other Demetrius, who was now a captive in Parthia, that upon his coming

into captivity, Trypho his governor destroyed Antiochus* the son of Alexander, who was also called † *the God*, and this when he had reigned four years, though he gave it out that he died under the hands of the surgeons. He then sent his friends, and those that were most intimate with him, to the soldiers; and promised that he would give them a great deal of money if they would make him king. He intimated to them that Demetrius was made a captive by the Parthians; and that Demetrius's brother Antiochus, if he came to be king, would do them a great deal of mischief, in way of revenge for their revolting from his brother. So the soldiers, in expectation of the wealth they should get by bestowing the kingdom on Trypho, made him their ruler. However, when Trypho had gained the management of affairs, he demonstrated his disposition to be wicked; for while he was a private person, he cultivated a familiarity with the multitude, and pretended to great moderation, and so drew them on artfully to whatsoever he pleased; but when he had once taken the kingdom, he laid aside any farther dissimulation, and was true *Trypho*, which behaviour made his enemies superior to him, for the soldiery hated him, and revolted from him to Cleopatra the wife of Demetrius, who was then shut up in Seleucia with her children. But as Antiochus, the brother of Demetrius, who was called *Soter*,

to the crown, about the 140th year before the Christian æra, he granted great privileges to the Jewish nation, and to Simon their high priest and ethnarch, which privileges Simon seems to have taken of his own accord about three years before. In particular, he gave him leave to coin money for his country with his own stamp; and as concerning Jerusalem, and the sanctuary, that they should be *free*, or as the vulgar Latin hath it, *holy and free*, 1 Maccab. xv. 6, 7. which I take to be the truer reading, as being the very words of his father's concession offered to Jonathan several years before, ch. x. 31. and Antiq. B. XIII. ch. ii. § 3. vol. II. Now what makes this date, and these grants, greatly remarkable, is the state of the remaining genuine shekels of the Jews with Samaritan characters, which seem to have been (most of them at least) coined in the four first years of this Simon the Asamonean, and having upon them these words on one side, *Jerusalem the holy*, and on the reverse, *In the year of freedom*, 1. or 2. or 3. or 4. which shekels therefore are original monuments of these times, and undeniable marks of the truth of the history in these chapters, though it be in a great measure omitted by Josephus. See Essay on the Old Test. p. 157, 158. The reason why I rather suppose that his copy of the Maccabees wanted these chapters, than that his own copies are here imperfect, is this, that all their contents are not here omitted, though much the greatest part be.

* How Trypho killed this Antiochus, the epitome of Livy informs us, chap. 55. viz. that he corrupted his physicians or surgeons, who falsely pretending to the people that he was perishing with the stone, as they cut him for it, killed him, which exactly agrees with Josephus.

† That this Antiochus, the son of Alexander Balas, was called *the God*, is evident from his coins, which Spanheim assures us bear this inscription, *King Antiochus the God, Epiphanes the Victorious.*

was not admitted by any of the cities on account of Trypho, Cleopatra sent to him, and invited him to marry her, and to take the kingdom. The reasons why she made this invitation were these: That her friends persuaded her to it, and that she was afraid for herself, in case some of the people of Seleucia should deliver up the city to Trypho.

2. As Antiochus was now come to Seleucia, and his forces increased every day, he marched to fight Trypho; and having beaten him in the battle, he ejected him out of the Upper Syria into Phenicia, and pursued him thither, and besieged him in Dora, which was a fortress hard to be taken, whither he had fled. He also sent ambassadors to Simon the Jewish high priest, about a league of friendship and mutual assistance; who readily accepted of the invitation, and sent to Antiochus great sums of money, and provisions, for those that besieged Dora, and thereby supplied them very plentifully, so that for a little while he was looked upon as one of his most intimate friends: but still Trypho fled from Dora to Apamia, where he was taken during the siege, and put to death, when he had reigned three years.

3. However, Antiochus forgot the kind assistance that Simon had afforded him in his necessity; by reason of his covetous and wicked disposition, and committed an army of soldiers to his friend Cendebeus, and sent him at once to ravage Judea, and to seize Simon. When Simon heard of Antiochus's breaking his league with him, although he were now in years, yet, provoked with the unjust treatment he had met with from Antiochus, and taking a resolution brisker than his age could well bear, he went like a young man to act as general of his army. He also sent his sons before among the most hardy of his soldiers, and he himself marched on with his army another way, and laid many of his men in ambushes in the narrow vallies between the mountains; nor did he fail of success in any one of his attempts, but was too hard for his enemies in every one of them. So he led the rest of his life in peace, and did also himself make a league with the Romans.

4. Now he was the ruler of the Jews in all eight years; but at a feast came to his end. It was caused by the treachery of his son-in-law Ptolemy; who caught also his wife, and two of his sons, and kept them in bonds. He also sent some to kill John the third son, whose name was *Hyrcanus;* but the young man perceiving them coming, he * avoided the danger he

* Here Josephus begins to follow, and to abridge the next sacred Hebrew book, styled in the end of the first book of Maccabees, *The Chronicle of John* [*Hyrcanus's*] *high priesthood,* but in some of the Greek copies the *fourth book of Maccabeus.* A Greek version of this chronicle was extant not very long ago, in the days of Santes Pagninus, and Sixtus Senensis, at Lyons, though it seems to have been there burnt,

was in from them, and made haste into the city [Jerusalem], as relying on the good-will of the multitude, because of the benefits they had received from his father, and because of the hatred the same multitude bare to Ptolemy; so that when Ptolemy was endeavouring to enter the city by another gate, they drove him away, as having already admitted of Hyrcanus.

CHAP. VIII.

Hyrcanus receives the high-priesthood, and ejects Ptolemy out of the country. Antiochus makes war against Hyrcanus, and afterwards makes a league with him.

§ 1. So Ptolemy retired to one of the fortresses that was above Jericho, which was called *Dagon:* but Hyrcanus having taken the priesthood that had been his father's before, and in the first place propitiated God by sacrifices, he then made an expedition against Ptolemy; and when he made his attacks upon the place, in other points he was too hard for him, but was rendered weaker than he, by the commiseration he had for his mother and brethren, and by that only, for Ptolemy brought them upon the wall, and tormented them in the sight of all, and threatened that he would throw them down headlong, unless Hyrcanus would leave off the siege. And as he thought, that so far as he relaxed as to the siege and taking of the place, so much favour did he shew to those that were dearest to him by preventing their misery, his zeal about it was cooled. However, his mother spread out her hands, and begged of him that he would not grow remiss on her account, but indulge his indignation so much the more, and that he would do his utmost to take the place quickly, in order to get their enemy under his power, and then to avenge upon him what he had done to these that were dearest to himself; for that death would be to her sweet, though with torment, if that enemy of theirs might but be brought to punishment for his wicked dealings to them.— Now, when his mother said so, he resolved to take the fortress immediately; but when he saw her beaten, and torn to pieces, his courage failed him, and he could not but sympathize with what his mother suffered, and was thereby overcome. And as the siege was drawn out into length by this means, that year on which the Jews use to rest came on, for the Jews observe this rest every seventh year, as they do every seventh day; so that

and to be now utterly lost. See Sixtus Senensis's account of it, of its many Hebraisms, and its great agreement with Josephus's abridgment, in the Authent. Rec. part I. 206, 207, 208.

Ptolemy being * for this cause released from the war, he slew the brethren of Hyrcanus, and his mother: and when he had so done he fled to Zeno, who was called *Cotylas*, who was then the tyrant of the city of Philadelphia.

2. But Antiochus being very uneasy at the miseries that Simon had brought upon him, he invaded Judea in the fourth year of his reign, and the first year of the principality of Hyrcanus, in † the hundred and sixty second Olympiad. And when he had burnt the country, he shut up Hyrcanus in the city, which he encompassed round with seven encampments, but did just nothing at the first, because of the strength of the walls, and because of the valour of the besieged; although they were once in want of water, which yet they were delivered from by a large shower of rain, which fell at the ‡ setting of the Pleiades. However, about the north part of the wall, where it happened the city was upon a level with the outward ground, the king raised an hundred towers of three stories high, and placed bodies of soldiers upon them, and as he made his attacks every day, he cut a double ditch, deep and broad, and confined the inhabitants within it as within a wall; but the besieged contrived to make frequent sallies out, and if the enemy were not any where upon their guard, they fell upon them, and did them a great deal of mischief, and if they perceived them, they then retired into the city with ease. But because Hyrcanus discerned the inconvenience of so great a number of men in the city, while the provisions were the sooner spent by them, and yet, as is natural to suppose,

* Hence we learn, that in the days of this excellent high priest, John Hyrcanus, the observation of the *Sabbatic year*, as Josephus supposed, required a rest from *war*, as did that of the *weekly Sabbath* from *work*: I mean this, unless in the case of necessity, when the Jews were attacked by their enemies, in which case indeed, and in which alone, they then allowed defensive fighting to be lawful even on the Sabbath-day, as we see in several places of Josephus, Antiq. B. XII. chap. vi. § 2. B. XIII. chap. 1. § 2. vol. II. Of the War, B. I. chap. vii. § 2. vol. III. But then it must be noted, that this rest from war no way appears in the first book of Maccabees, chap. xvi. but the direct contrary; though indeed the Jews, in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, did not venture upon fighting on the Sabbath-day, even in the defence of their own lives, till the Asamonians or Maccabees decreed so to do, 1 Mac. ii. 32—41. Antiq. B. XII. chap. vii. sec. 2.

† Josephus's copies, both Greek and Latin, have here a gross mistake, when they say, that this first year of John Hyrcanus, which we have just now seen to have been a *Sabbatic year*, was in the 162d Olympiad, whereas it was for certain the second year of the 161st. See the like before, B. XII. chap. vi. sect. 6.

‡ This heliacal setting of the Pleiades, or seven stars, was, in the days of Hyrcanus and Josephus, early in the spring, about February, the time of the latter rain in Judea, and this, so far as I remember, is the only astronomical character of time, besides one eclipse of the moon in the reign of Herod, that we meet with in all Josephus, the Jews being little accustomed to astronomical observations, any farther than for the uses of their kalendar, and utterly forbidden those astrological uses which the heathens commonly made of them.

those great numbers did nothing, he separated the useless part, and excluded them out of the city, and retained that part only which were in the flower of their age, and fit for war. However Antiochus would not let those that were excluded go away, who therefore wandering about between the walls, and consuming away by famine, died miserably; but when the feast of tabernacles was at hand, those that were within commiserated their condition, and received them in again. And when Hyrcanus sent to Antiochus, and desired there might be a truce, for seven days, because of the festival, he gave way to his piety towards God, and made that truce accordingly: and besides that, he sent in a magnificent sacrifice, bulls with their * horns gilded, with all sorts of sweet spices, and with cups of gold and silver. So those that were at the gates received the sacrifices from those that brought them, and led them to the temple, Antiochus the mean while feasting his army; which was a quite different conduct from Antiochus Epiphanes, who, when he had taken the city, he offered swine upon the altar, and sprinkled the temple with the broth of their flesh, in order to violate the laws of the Jews, and the religion they derived from their forefathers; for which reason our nation made war with him, and would never be reconciled to him: but for this Antiochus, all men called him *Antiochus the Pious*, for the great zeal he had about religion.

3. Accordingly Hyrcanus took this moderation of his kindly; and when he understood how religious he was towards the Deity, he sent an embassage to him, and desired that he would restore the settlements they received from their forefathers. So he rejected the counsel of those that † would have him utterly destroy the nation by reason of their way of living, which was to others unsociable, and did not regard what they said. But being persuaded that all they did was out of a religious mind, he answered the ambassadors, That if the besieged would deliver up their arms and pay tribute for Joppa, and the other cities which bordered upon Judea, and admit a garrison of his, on these terms he would make war against them no longer. But the Jews, although they were content with the other conditions, did not agree to admit the garrison, because they could not associate with other people, nor converse with them; yet were they willing, instead of the admission of the garrison, to give him

* Dr. Hudson tells us here, that this custom of gilding the horns of those oxen that were to be sacrificed, is a known thing both in the poets and orators.

† This account in Josephus, that the present Antiochus, was persuaded, though in vain, not to make peace with the Jews, but to cut them off utterly, is fully confirmed by Diodorus Siculus, in Photius's extracts out of his 34th Book.

hostages, and five hundred talents of silver, of which they paid down three hundred, and sent the hostages immediately, which king Antiochus accepted. One of those hostages was Hyrcanus's brother; but still he broke down the fortifications that encompassed the city: and upon these conditions Antiochus broke up the siege and departed.

4. But Hyrcanus opened the sepulchre of David, who excelled all other kings in riches, and took out of it three thousand talents. He was also the first of the Jews that, relying on this wealth, maintained foreign troops. There was also a league of friendship and mutual assistance made between them: Upon which Hyrcanus admitted him into the city, and furnished him with whatsoever his army wanted in great plenty, and with great generosity, and marched along with him when he made an expedition against the Parthians; of which Nicolaus of Damascus is a witness for us; who in his history writes thus: "When "Antiochus had erected a trophy at the river Lycus, upon his "conquest of Indates, the general of the Parthians, he stayed "there two days. It was at the desire of Hyrcanus the Jew, be-"cause it was such a festival derived to them from their fore-"fathers, whereon the law of the Jews did not allow them to "travel." And truly he did not speak falsely in saying so; for that festival, which we call Pentecost, did then fall out to be the next day to the Sabbath: nor is it * lawful for us to journey, either on the Sabbath day, or on a festival day. But when Antiochus joined battle with Arsaces, the king of Parthia, he lost a great part of his army, and was himself slain: and his brother Demetrius succeeded in the kingdom of Syria, by the permission of Arsaces, who freed him from his captivity, at the same time that Antiochus attacked Parthia, as we have formerly related elsewhere.

CHAP. IX.

How, after the death of Antiochus, Hyrcanus made an expedition against Syria, and made a league with the Romans. Concerning the death of king Demetrius and Alexander.

§ 1. But when Hyrcanus heard of the death of Antiochus, he presently made an expedition against the cities of Syria, hoping to find them destitute of fighting men, and of such as were able to defend them. However, it was not till the sixth month that he took Medaba, and that not without the great dis-

* The Jews were not to march or journey on the Sabbath, or on such a great festival as was equivalent to the Sabbath, any farther than a *Sabbath day's journey*, or 2000 cubits, see the note on Antiq. B. XX. ch. vii. sec. 6. vol. III.

tress of his army. After this he took Samega, and the neighbouring places; and besides these, Shechem and Gerizzim, and the nation of the Cutheans, who dwelt at the temple which Alexander permitted Sanballat, the general of his army, to build for the sake of Manasseh, who was son-in-law to Jaddua the high priest, as we have formerly related; which temple was now deserted two hundred years after it was built. Hyrcanus took also Dora and Marissa, cities of Idumea, and subdued all the Idumeans; and permitted them to stay in that country, if they would circumcise their genitals, and make use of the laws of the Jews; and they were so desirous of living in the country of their forefathers, that they * submitted to the use of circumcision, and of the rest of the Jewish ways of living; at which time therefore this befell them, that they were hereafter no other than Jews.

2. But Hyrcanus the high priest was desirous to renew that league of friendship they had with the Romans. Accordingly he sent an embassage to them: and when the senate had received their epistle, they made a league of friendship with them, after the manner following: "Fanius, the son of Marcus the pretor, "gathered the senate together on the eighth day before the ides "of February, in the senate house, when Lucius Manlius, the "son of Lucius, of the Mentine tribe, and Caius Sempronius, "the son of Caius, of the Falernian tribe, were present. The

* This account of the Idumeans admitting circumcision, and the entire Jewish law, from this time, or from the days of Hyrcanus, is confirmed by their entire history afterward. See Antiq. B. XIV. ch. viii. sec. 1. B. XV. ch. vii. sec. 9. vol. II. Of the War, B. II. ch. iii. sec. 1. vol. III. B. IV. ch. iv. sec. 5. vol. IV. This, in the opinion of Josephus, made them proselytes of justice, or entire Jews, as here and elsewhere, Antiq. B. XIV. ch. viii. sec. 1. However, Antigonus, the enemy of Herod, though Herod were derived from such a proselyte of justice for several generations, will allow him to be no more than an *half Jew*, B. XIV. ch. xv. sec. 2. But still take out of Dean Prideaux, at the year 129, the words of Ammonius a grammarian, which fully confirms this account of the Idumeans in Josephus. "The Jews, "says he, are such by nature, and from the beginning, whilst the Idumeans were "not Jews from the beginning, but Phenicians and Syrians; but being afterward "subdued by the Jews, and compelled to be circumcised, and to unite into one na"tion, and be subject to the same laws, they were called *Jews*." Dio also says, as the Dean there quotes him, from book XXXVI. p. 37. "That country is called "*Judea*, and the people *Jews*; and this name is given also to as many others "as embrace their religion, though of other nations." But then upon what foundation so good a governor as Hyrcanus took upon him to *compel* those Idumeans either to become Jews or to leave the country, deserves great consideration. I suppose it was because they had long ago been driven out of the land of Edom, and seized on and possessed the tribe of Simeon, and all the southern parts of the tribe of Judah, which was the peculiar inheritance of the worshippers of the true God without idolatry, as the reader may learn from Reland, Palestine, part I. p. 154, 305. and from Prideaux, at the years 140, and 165.

"occasion was, that the ambassadors sent by the * people of the "Jews, Simon the son of Dositheus, and Apollonius, the son "of Alexander, and Diodorus, the son of Jason, who were "good and virtuous men, had somewhat to propose about that "league of friendship and mutual assistance which subsisted be-"tween them and the Romans, and about other public affairs, "who desired that Joppa, and the havens, and Gazara, and the "springs [of Jordan,] and the several other cities and countries "of theirs, which Antiochus had taken from them in the war, "contrary to the decree of the senate, might be restored to them; "and that it might not be lawful for the king's troops to pass "through their country, and the countries of those that are "subject to them: And that what attempts Antiochus had "made during that war, without the decree of the senate, might "be made void: and that they would send ambassadors, who "should take care that restitution be made them of what An-"tiochus had taken from them, and that they should make an "estimate of the country that had been laid waste in the war, "and that they would grant them letters of protection to the "kings, and free people, in order to their quiet return home. "It was therefore decreed, as to those points, to renew their "league of friendship and mutual assistance with these good "men, and who were sent by a good and a friendly people." But that as to the letters desired, their answer was, that the senate would consult about that matter, when their own affairs would give them leave, and that they would endeavour, for the time to come, that no like injury should be done them; and that their prætor Fanius, should give them money out of the public treasury to bear their expenses home. And thus did Fanius dismiss the Jewish ambassadors, and gave them money out of the public treasury; and gave the decree of the senate to those that were to conduct them, and to take care that they should return home in safety.

3. And thus stood the affairs of Hyrcanus the high priest. But as for king Demetrius, who had a mind to make war against Hyrcanus, there was no opportunity nor room for it, while both the Syrians and the soldiers bare ill will to him, because he was an ill man. But when they had sent ambassadors to Ptolemy, who was called Physcon, that he would send them one of the family at Seleucus, in order to take the kingdom, and he had sent them Alexander, who was called Zebina, with an army, and there had been a battle between them, Demetrius was beaten in the fight, and fled to Cleopatra his wife, to Ptolemais, but his wife

* In this decree of the Roman Senate, it seems that these ambassadors were sent from the *people of the Jews*, as well as from their *prince*, or *high priest John Hyrcanus*.

would not receive him. He went thence to Tyre, and was there caught; and when he had suffered much from his enemies before his death, he was slain by them. So Alexander took the kingdom, and made a league with Hyrcanus, who yet, when he afterward fought with Antiochus the son of Demetrius, who was called Grypus, was also beaten in the fight, and slain.

CHAP. X.

How upon the quarrel between Antiochus Grypus, and Antiochus Cyzicenus, about the kingdom, Hyrcanus took Samaria, and utterly demolished it; and how Hyrcanus joined himself to the sect of the Sadducees, and left that of the Pharisees.

§ 1. When Antiochus had taken the kingdom, he was afraid to make war against Judea, because he heard that his brother, by the same mother, who was also called Antiochus, was raising an army against him out of Cyzicum, so he staid in his own land, and resolved to prepare himself for the attack he expected from his brother, who was called Cyzicenus, because he had been brought up in that city. He was the son of Antiochus that was called Soter, who died in Parthia. He was the brother of Demetrius, the father of Grypus, for it had so happened, that one and the same Cleopatra was married to two, who were brethren, as we have related elsewhere. But Antiochus Cyzicenus coming into Syria, continued many years at war with his brother. Now Hyrcanus lived all this while in peace: for after the death of Antiochus, he * revolted from the Macedonians, nor did he any longer pay them the least regard, either as their subject or their friend, but his affairs were in a very improving and flourishing condition in the times of Alexander Zebina, and especially under these brethren, for the war which they had with one another gave Hyrcanus the opportunity of enjoying himself in Judea quietly, insomuch that he got an immense quantity of money. However, when Antiochus Cyzicenus distressed his land, he then openly shewed what he meant. And when he saw that Antiochus was destitute of Egyptian auxiliaries, and that both he and his brother were in an ill condition in the struggles they had one with another, he despised them both.

2. So he made an expedition against Samaria, which was a very strong city; of whose present name Sebaste, and its rebuilding by Herod, we shall speak at a proper time: but he made

* Dean Prideaux takes notice at the year 130, that Justin, in agreement with Josephus, says, "The power of the Jews was now grown so great, that after this "Antiochus, they would not bear any Macedonian king over them, and that they "set up a government of their own, and infested Syria with great wars."

his attack against it, and besieged it, with a great deal of pains, for he was greatly displeased with the Samaritans for the injuries they had done to the people of Merissa, a colony of the Jews, and confederate with them, and this in compliance to the kings of Syria. When he had therefore drawn a ditch, and built a double wall round the city, which were fourscore furlongs long, he set his sons Antigonus and Aristobulus over the siege, which brought the Samaritans to that great distress by famine, that they were forced to eat what used not to be eaten, and to call for Antiochus Cyzicenus to help them, who came readily to their assistance, but was beaten by Aristobulus, and when he was pursued as far as Scythopolis by the two brethren, he got away: So they returned to Samaria, and shut them again within the wall, till they were forced to send for the same Antiochus a second time to help them, who procured about six thousand men from Ptolemy Lathyrus, which were sent them without his mother's consent, who had then in a manner turned him out of his government. With these Egyptians Antiochus did at first overrun and ravage the country of Hyrcanus after the manner of a robber, for he durst not meet him in the face to fight with him, as not having an army sufficient for that purpose, but only from this supposal, that by thus harassing his land he should force Hyrcanus to raise the siege of Samaria; but because he fell into snares, and lost many of his soldiers therein, he went away to Tripoli, and committed the prosecution of the war against the Jews to Callimander and Epicrates.

3. But as to Callimander, he attacked the enemy too rashly, and was put to flight, and destroyed immediately; and as to Epicrates, he was such a lover of money, that he openly betrayed Scythopolis, and other places near it, to the Jews, but was not able to make them raise the siege of Samaria. And when Hyrcanus had taken that city, which was not done till after a year's siege, he was not contented with doing that only, but he demolished it entirely, and brought rivulets to it to drown it, for he dug such hollows as might let the water run under it; nay, he took away the very marks that there had ever been such a city there. Now a very surprising thing is related of this high priest Hyrcanus, how God came to discourse with him: for they say, that on the very same day on which his sons fought with Antiochus Cyzicenus, he was alone in the temple, as high priest offering incense, and heard a voice, that "his sons had just then "overcome Antiochus." And this he openly declared before all the multitude upon his coming out of the temple; and it accordingly proved true: and in this posture were the affairs of Hyrcanus.

4. Now it happened at this time, that not only those Jews who were at Jerusalem and in Judea were in prosperity, but also those of them that were at Alexandria, and in Egypt and Cyprus, for Cleopatra the queen was at variance with her son Ptolemy, who was called Lathyrus, and appointed for her generals Chelcias, and Ananias, the sons of that Onias who built the temple in the prefecture of Heliopolis, like to that at Jerusalem, as we have elsewhere related. Cleopatra intrusted these men with her army; and did nothing without their advice, as Strabo of Capadocia attests, when he saith thus, "Now the greater part, "both those that came to Cyprus with us, and those that were "sent afterward thither, revolted to Ptolemy immediately; on"ly those that were called Onias's party, being Jews, continued "faithful, because their countrymen Chelcias and Ananias were "in chief favour with the queen." These are the words of Strabo.

5. However this prosperous state of affairs moved the Jews to envy Hyrcanus, but they that were the worst disposed to him were the * Pharisees, who were one of the sects of the Jews, as we have informed you already. These have so great a power over the multitude, that when they say any thing against the king, or against the high priest, they are presently believed.—Now Hyrcanus was a disciple of theirs, and greatly beloved by them. And when he once invited them to a feast, and entertained them very kindly, when he saw them in a good humour, he began to say to them, that "they knew he was desirous to be a "righteous man, and to do all things whereby he might please "God, which was the profession of the Pharisees also. How"ever, he desired, if they observed him offending in any point, "and going out of the right way, they would call him back and "correct him." On which occasion they attested to his being entirely virtuous, with which commendation he was well pleased. But still there was one of his guests there, whose name was

* The original of the Sadducees, as a considerable party among the Jews, being contained in this, and the two following sections, take Dean Prideaux's note upon this their first public appearance, which I suppose to be true: Hyrcanus, says he, "went over to the party of the Sadducees, that is, by embracing the doctrine against "the tradition of the elders, added to the written law, and made of equal authority "with it, but not their doctrine against the resurrection and a future state; for this "cannot be supposed of so good and righteous a man as John Hyrcanus is said to "be. It is most probable, that at this time the Sadducees had gone no farther in "the doctrines of that sect than to deny all the unwritten traditions, which the "Pharisees were so fond of; for Josephus mentions no other difference at this "time between them; neither doth he say that Hyrcanus went over to the Saddu"cees in any other particular than in the abolishing of all the traditionary con"stitutions of the Pharisees, which our Saviour condemned as well as they."—[At the year 108.]

* Eleazar, a man of an ill temper, and delighting in seditious practices. This man said, "since thou desirest to know the "truth, if thou wilt be righteous in earnest, lay down the high "priesthood, and content thyself with the civil government of "the people." And when he desired to know for what cause he ought to lay down the high priesthood, the other replied, "We have heard it from old men, that thy mother had been "a captive under the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes." This story was false, and Hyrcanus was provoked against him; and all the Pharisees had a very great indignation against him.

6. Now there was one Jonathan, a very great friend of Hyrcanus's, but of the sect of the Sadducees, whose notions are quite contrary to those of the Pharisees. He told Hyrcanus, that "Eleazar had cast such a reproach upon him, according to the "common sentiments of all the Pharisees, and that this would "be made manifest if he would but ask them the question, what "punishment they thought this man deserved? for that he might "depend upon it, that the reproach was not laid on him with their "approbation, if they were for punishing him as his crime de-"served." So the Pharisees made answer, that "he deserved "stripes and bonds, but that it did not seem right to punish re-"proaches with death." And indeed the Pharisees, even upon other occasions, are not apt to be severe in punishments. At this gentle sentence, Hyrcanus was very angry, and thought that this man reproached him by their approbation. It was this Jonathan who chiefly irritated him, and influenced him so far, that he made him leave the party of the Pharisees, and abolish the decrees they had imposed on the people, and to punish those that observed them. From this source arose that hatred which he and his sons met with from the multitude; but of these matters we shall speak hereafter. What I would now explain is this, that the Pharisees have delivered to the people a great many observances by succession from their fathers, which are not written in the laws of Moses; and for that reason it is that the Sadducees reject them, and say, that we are to esteem those observances to be obligatory which are in the written word, but are not to observe what are derived from the tradition of our forefathers. And concerning these things it is that great disputes and differences have arisen among them, while the Sadducees are able to persuade none but the rich, and have not the populace obsequious to them, but the Pharisees have the multitude on

* This slander, that arose from a Pharisee, has been preserved by their successors the Rabbins, to these later ages, for Dr. Hudson assures us, that David Gantz, in his Chronology, S. pr. p. 77. in Vorstius's version, relates that Hyrcanus's mother was taken Captive in mount Modiith. See chap. xiii. sect. 5.

their side. But about these two sects, and that of the Essens, I have treated accurately in the second book of Jewish affairs.

7. But when Hyrcanus had put an end to this sedition, he after that lived happily, and administered the government in the best manner for thirty-one years, and then * died; leaving behind him five sons. He was esteemed by God worthy of the three greatest privileges, the government of his nation, the dignity of the high priesthood, and prophecy, for God was with him, and enabled him to know futurities; and to foretel this in particular, that as to his two eldest sons, he foretold that they would not long continue in the government of public affairs; whose unhappy catastrophe will be worth our description, that we may thence learn how very much they were inferior to their father's happiness.

CHAP. XI.

How Aristobulus, when he had taken the government, first of all put a diadem on his head, and was most barbarously cruel to his mother and his brethren; and how after he had slain Antigonus, he himself died.

§ 1. Now when their father Hyrcanus was dead, the eldest son Aristobulus, intending to change the government into a kingdom, for so he resolved to do, first of all put a diadem

* Here ends the high priesthood, and the life of this excellent person John Hyrcanus, and together with him the holy *theocracy*, or *divine government* of the Jewish nation, and its concomitant oracle by *Urim*. Now follows the profane and tyrannical Jewish *monarchy*, first of the Assamonians or Maccabees, and then of Herod the Great, the Idumean, till the coming of the Messiah. See the note on Antiq. B. III. chap. viii. sect. 9. Hear Strabo's testimony on this occasion, B. XVI. page 761, 762. "Those, says he, that succeeded Moses, continued for "some time in earnest, both in righteous actions, and in piety; but after a while, "there were others that took upon them the high priesthood; at first superstitious "and afterward tyrannical persons. Such a prophet was Moses and those that suc-"ceeded him, beginning in a way not to be blamed, but changing for the worse. "And when it openly appeared that the government was become tyrannical, Alex-"ander was the first that set up himself for a king instead of a priest; and his sons "were Hyrcanus and Aristobulus." All in agreement with Josephus, excepting this, that Strabo omits the first king Aristobulus, whose reign being but a single year, seems hardly to have come to his knowledge. Nor indeed does Aristobulus, the son of Alexander, pretend that the name of *king* was taken before his father Alexander took it himself. Antiq. B. XIV. chap. iii. sect. 2. See also chap. xii. sect. 1. which favour Strabo also. And indeed if we may judge from the very different characters of the Egyptian Jews under high priests, and of the Palestine Jews under kings, in the two next centuries, we may well suppose, that the divine *Shechinah* was removed into Egypt, and that the worshippers at the temple of Onias were better men than those at the temple of Jerusalem.

on his head, four hundred eighty and one years and three months after the people had been delivered from the Babylonish slavery and were returned to their own country again. This Aristobulus loved his next brother Antigonus, and treated him as his equal, but the others he held in bonds. He also cast his mother into prison, because she disputed the government with him, for Hyrcanus had left her to be mistress of all. He also proceeded to that degree of barbarity, as to kill her in prison with hunger; nay, he was alienated from his brother Antigonus by calumnies, and added him to the rest whom he slew, yet he seemed to have an affection for him, and made him above the rest a partner with him in the kingdom. Those calumnies he at first did not give credit to, partly because he loved him, and so did not give heed to what was said against him, and partly because he thought the reproaches were derived from the envy of the relaters. But when Antigonus was once returned from the army, and that feast was then at hand when they make tabernacles to [the honour of] God, it happened that Aristobulus was fallen sick, and that Antigonus went up most splendidly adorned, and with his soldiers about him in their armour, to the temple to celebrate the feast, and to put up many prayers for the recovery of his brother, when some wicked persons, who had a great mind to raise a difference between the brethren, made use of this opportunity of the pompous appearance of Antigonus, and of the great actions which he had done, and went to the king, and spitefully aggravated the pompous shew of his at the feast, and pretended that all these circumstances were not like those of a private person; that these actions were indications of an affectation of royal authority; and that his coming with a strong body of men must be with an intention to kill him; and that his way of reasoning was this, that it was a silly thing in him, while it was in his power to reign himself, to look upon it as a great favour that he was honoured with a lower dignity by his brother.

2. Aristobulus yielded to these imputations, but took care both that his brother should not suspect him, and that he himself might not run the hazard of his own safety; so he ordered his guards to lie in a certain place that was under ground, and dark (he himself then lying sick in the tower which was called Antonia,) and he commanded them, that in case Antigonus came in to him unarmed, they should not touch any body, but if armed, they should kill him; yet did he send to Antigonus, and desired that he would come unarmed: But the queen, and those that joined with her in the plot against Antigonus, persuaded the messenger to tell him the direct contrary: How his brother had heard that he had made himself a fine suit of armour

for war and desired him to come to him in that armour, that he might see how fine it was. So Antigonus suspecting no treachery, but depending on the good-will of his brother, came to Aristobulus armed, as he used to be, with his entire armour, in order to shew it to him; but when he was come at a place which was called Strato's Tower, where the passage happened to be exceeding dark, the guards slew him; which death of his demonstrates that nothing is stronger than envy and calumny, and that nothing does more certainly divide the good-will and natural affections of men than those passions. But here one may take occasion to wonder at one Judas, who was of the sect of the Essens, and who never missed the truth in his predictions; for this man when he saw Antigonus passing by the temple, cried out to his companions and friends, who abode with him as his * scholars, in order to learn the art of foretelling things to come, "That it was good for him to die now, since he had "spoken falsely about Antigonus, who is still alive, and I see "him passing by, although he had foretold he should die at "the place called Strato's Tower, that very day, while yet the "place is six hundred furlongs off, where he had foretold he "should be slain; and still this day is a great part of it already "past, so that he was in danger of proving a false prophet." As he was saying this, and that in a melancholy mood, the news came that Antigonus was slain in a place under ground, which itself was called also Strato's Tower, or of the same name with that Cesarea which is seated at the sea. This event put the prophet into a great disorder.

3. But Aristobulus repented immediately of this slaughter of his brother, on which account his disease increased upon him, and he was disturbed in his mind, upon the guilt of such wickedness, insomuch that his entrails were corrupted by his intolerable pain, and he vomited blood: at which time one of the servants that attended upon him, and was carrying his blood away, did, by divine providence, as I cannot but suppose, slip down and shed part of his blood at the very place where there were spots of Antigonus's blood there slain, still remaining; and when there was a cry made by the spectators, as if the servant had on purpose shed the blood on that place, Aristobulus heard it and inquired what the matter was? And as they did not answer him, he was the more earnest to know what it

* Hence we learn, that the Essens pretended to have rules whereby men might foretel things to come, and that this Judas the Essen, taught those rules to his scholars; but whether their pretences were of an astrological or magical nature, which yet in such religious Jews, who were utterly forbidden such arts, is no way probable, or to any Bath Col, spoken of by the latter Rabbins, or otherwise, I cannot tell. See of the War, B. II. chap. viii. sect. 12. vol. III.

was, it being natural to men to suspect that what is thus concealed, is very bad: so upon his threatening, and forcing them by terrors to speak, they at length told him the truth; whereupon he shed many tears, in that disorder of mind which arose from his consciousness of what he had done, and gave a deep groan, and said, I am not therefore, I perceive, to be con-"cealed from God, in the impious and horrid crimes I have "been guilty of, but a sudden punishment is coming upon me "for the shedding the blood of my relations. And now, O "thou most impudent body of mine, how long wilt thou re-"tain a soul that ought to die, in order to appease the ghosts "of my brother, and my mother? Why dost thou not give it "all up at once? And why do I deliver up my blood drop by "drop to those whom I have so wickedly murdered?" In saying which last words he died, having reigned a year. He was called a lover of the Grecians, and had conferred many benefits on his own country, and made war against Iturea, and added a great part of it to Judea, and compelled the inhabitants, if they would continue in that country, to be circumcised, and to live according to the Jewish laws. He was naturally a man of candour, and of great modesty, as Strabo bears witness, in the name of Timagenes: who says thus; "This man was a person "of candour, and very serviceable to the Jews, for he added a "country to them, and obtained a part of the nation of the Itu-"reans for them, and bound them to them by the bond of the "circumcision of their genitals."

CHAP. XII.

How Alexander when he had taken the government, made an expedition against Ptolemais, and then raised the siege out of fear of Ptolemy Lathyrus: and how Ptolemy made war against him, because he had sent to Cleopatra to persuade her to make war against Ptolemy, and yet pretended to be in friendship with him, when he beat the Jews in the battle.

§ 1. When Aristobulus was dead, his wife Salome, who, by the Greeks, was called Alexandra, let his brethren out of prison, for Aristobulus had kept them in bonds, as we have said already, and made Alexander Janneus king, who was the superior in age and in moderation. This child happened to be hated by his father as soon as he was born, and could never be permitted to come into his father's sight till he died. The occasion of which hatred is thus reported: When Hyrcanus chiefly loved the two eldest of his sons, Antigonus and Aristobulus, God appeared to him in his sleep, of whom he inquired, which

of his sons should be his successor? Upon God's representing to him the countenance of Alexander, he was grieved that he was to be the heir of all his goods, and suffered him to be brought up in * Galilee. However, God did not deceive Hyrcanus, for after the death of Aristobulus, he certainly took the kingdom, and one of his brethren, who affected the kingdom, he slew, and the other, who chose to live a private and quiet life, he had in esteem.

2. When Alexander Janneus had settled the government in the manner that he judged best, he made an expedition against Ptolemais; and having overcome the men in battle, he shut them up in the city, and sat round about it, and besieged it; for of the maritime cities there remained only Ptolemais and Gaza to be conquered, besides Strato's Tower, and Dora, which were held by the tyrant Zoilus. Now while Antiochus Philometer, and Antiochus who was called Cyzicenus, were making war one against another, and destroying one another's armies, the people of Ptolemais could have no assistance from them; but when they were distressed with this siege, Zoilus, who possessed Strato's Tower and Dora, and maintained a legion of soldiers, and on occasion of the contest between the kings, affected tyranny himself, came and brought some small assistance to the people of Ptolemais; nor indeed had the kings such a friendship for them, as that they should hope for any advantage from them: Both these kings were in the case of wrestlers, who finding themselves deficient in strength, and yet being ashamed to yield, put off the fight by laziness, and by lying still as long as they can. The only hope they had remaining was from the kings of Egypt, and from Ptolemy Lathyrus, who now held Cyprus, and who came to Cyprus when he was driven from the government of Egypt by Cleopatra his mother: So the people of Ptolemais sent to this Ptolemy Lathyrus, and desired him to come as a confederate, to deliver them, now they were in such danger, out of the hands of Alexander. And as the ambassadors gave him hopes, that if he would pass over into Syria, he would have the people of Gaza on the side of those of Ptolemais; as also they said, that Zoilus, and besides these the Sidonians, and many others, would assist them, so he was elevated at this, and got his fleet ready as soon as possible.

3. But in this interval Demenetus, one that was of abilities

* The reason why Hyrcanus suffered not this son of his whom he did not love, to come to Judea, but ordered him to be brought up in Galilee, is suggested by Dr. Hudson, that Galilee was not esteemed so happy and well cultivated a country as Judea, Matt. xxvi. 73. John vii. 52. Acts ii. 7. although another obvious reason occurs also, that he was farther out of his sight in Galilee than he would have been in Judea.

to persuade men to do as he would have them, and a leader of the populace, made those of Ptolemais change their opinions: and said to them, That "it was better to run the hazard of being subject to the Jews, than to admit of evident slavery by "delivering themselves up to a master: and besides that, to "have not only a war at present, but to expect a much greater "war from Egypt, for that Cleopatra would not overlook an "army raised by Ptolemy for himself out of the neighbourhood, "but would come against them with a great army of her own, "and this because she was labouring to eject her son out of Cy-"prus also; that as for Ptolemy, if he fail of his hopes he can "still retire to Cyprus, but that they will be left in the greatest "danger possible." Now Ptolemy, although he had heard of the change that was made in the people of Ptolemais, yet did he still go on with his voyage, and came to the country called Sycamine, and there set his army on shore. This army of his in the whole, horse and foot together, were about thirty thousand, with which he marched near to Ptolemais, and there pitched his camp: But when the people of Ptolemais neither received his ambassadors, nor would hear what they had to say, he was under a very great concern.

4. But when Zoilus and the people of Gaza came to him, and desired his assistance, because their country was laid waste by the Jews, and by Alexander, Alexander raised the siege, for fear of Ptolemy: And when he had drawn off his army into his own country, he used a stratagem afterwards, by privately inviting Cleopatra to come against Ptolemy, but publicly pretending to desire a league of friendship and mutual assistance with him; and promising to give him four hundred talents of silver, he desired that, by way of requital, he would take off Zoilus the tyrant, and give his country to the Jews. And then indeed Ptolemy, with pleasure, made such a league of friendship with Alexander, and subdued Zoilus; but when he afterward heard that he had privily sent to Cleopatra his mother, he broke the league with him, which yet he had confirmed with an oath, and fell upon him, and besieged Ptolemais, because it would not receive him. However, leaving his generals, with some part of his forces, to go on with the siege, he went himself immediately with the rest to lay Judea waste; and when Alexander understood this to be Ptolemy's intention, he also got together about fifty thousand soldiers out of his own country; nay, * as some writers have

* From these and other occasional expressions, dropped by Josephus, we may learn, that where the sacred books of the Jews were deficient, he had several other histories then extant, but now most of them lost, which he faithfully followed in his own history.—Nor indeed have we any other records of those times, relating to Judea, that can be compared to these accounts of Josephus, though when we do meet with authentic fragments of such original records, they do almost always confirm his history.

said, eighty thousand. He then took his army, and went to meet Ptolemy; but Ptolemy fell upon Assochis, a city of Galilee, and took it by force on the sabbath-day, and there he took about ten thousand slaves, and a great deal of other prey.

5. He then tried to take Sepphoris, which was a city not far from that which was destroyed, but lost many of his men; yet did he then go to fight with Alexander, which Alexander met him at the river Jordan, near a certain place called *Sappoth*, [not far from the river Jordan], and pitched his camp near to the enemy. He had however eight thousand in the first rank, which he stiled *Hecatontomachi*, having shields of brass. Those in the first rank of Ptolemy's soldiers, also had shields covered with brass: but Ptolemy's soldiers in other respects were inferior to those of Alexander, and therefore were more fearful of running hazards: but Philostephanus, the camp-master, put great courage into them, and ordered them to pass the river, which was between their camps: Nor did Alexander think fit to hinder their passage over it, for he thought, that if the enemy had once gotten the river on their back, that he should the easier take them prisoners, when they could not flee out of the battle: In the beginning of which, the acts on both sides, with their hands, and with their alacrity, were alike, and a great slaughter was made by both the armies; but Alexander was superior, till Philostephanus opportunely brought up the auxiliaries, to help those that were giving way; but as there were no auxiliaries to afford help to that part of the Jews that gave way, it fell out that they fled, and those near them did not assist them, but fled along with them. However, Ptolemy's soldiers acted quite otherwise; for they followed the Jews, and killed them, till at length those that slew them pursued after them, when they had made them all run away, and slew them so long, that their weapons of iron were blunted, and their hands quite tired with the slaughter; for the report was, that thirty thousand men were then slain. Timagenes says, they were fifty thousand. As for the rest, they were part of them taken captives, and the other part ran away to their own country.

6. After this victory, Ptolemy over-ran all the country; and when night came on, he abode in certain villages of Judea, which when he found full of women and children, he commanded his soldiers to strangle them, and to cut them in pieces, and then to cast them into boiling caldrons, and then to devour their limbs as sacrifices. This commandment was given, that such as fled from the battle, and came to them, might suppose their enemies were cannibals, and eat men's flesh, and might on that account be still more terrified at them upon such a sight. And both Strabo and Nicholaus [of Damascus] affirm, that they used

these people after this manner, as I have already related.—Ptolemy also took Ptolemais by force, as we have declared elsewhere.

CHAP. XIII.

How Alexander, upon the league of mutual defence which Cleopatra had agreed with him, made an expedition against Celesyria, and utterly overthrew the city of Gaza; and how he slew many ten thousands of Jews that rebelled against him: Also concerning Antiochus Grypus, Seleucus, Antiochus Cyzicenus, and Antiochus Pius, and others.

§ 1. When Cleopatra saw that her son was grown great, and laid Judea waste without disturbance, and had gotten the city of Gaza under his power, she resolved no longer to overlook what he did, when he was almost at her gates; and she concluded, that now he was so much stronger than before, he would be very desirous of the dominion over the Egyptians; but she immediately marched against him with a fleet at sea, and an army of foot on land, and made Chelsias and Ananias the Jews, generals of her whole army, while she sent the greatest part of her riches, her grand-children, and her testament, to the people of* Cos. Cleopatra also ordered her son Alexander to sail with a great fleet to Phenicia: and when that country had revolted, she came to Ptolemais; and because the people of Ptolemais did not receive her, she besieged the city; but Ptolemy went out of Syria, and made haste into Egypt, supposing that he should find it destitute of an army and soon take it, though he failed of his hopes. At this time Chelcias, one of Cleopatra's generals, happened to die in Celesyria, as he was in pursuit of Ptolemy.

2. When Cleopatra heard of her son's attempt, and that his Egyptian expedition did not succeed according to his expectations, she sent thither part of her army, and drove him out of that country, so when he was returned out of Egypt again, he abode during the winter at Gaza, in which time Cleopatra took the garrison that was in Ptolemais by siege, as well as the city; and when Alexander came to her, he gave her presents, and such marks of respect as were but proper, since under the miseries he endured by Ptolemy, he had no other refuge but her.

* The city, or island *Cos*, is not that remote island in the Egean Sea, famous for the birth of the great Hippocrates, but a city or island of the same name, adjoining to Egypt, mentioned both by Stephanus and Ptolemy, as Dr. Hudson informs us. Of which Cos, and the treasures there laid up by Cleopatra and the Jews, see Antiq. B. XIV. ch. vii. § 2.

Now there were some of her friends who persuaded her to seize Alexander, and to over-run and take possession of the country, and not to sit still and see such a multitude of brave Jews subject to one man. But Ananias's counsel was contrary to theirs, who said, that, "she would do an unjust action if she deprived "a man that was her ally of that authority which belonged to "him, and this a man who is related to us; for, said he, I would "not have thee ignorant of this, that what injustice thou dost "to him, will make all us that are Jews to be thy enemies."— This desire of Ananias's Cleopatra complied with, and did no injury to Alexander, but made a league of mutual assistance with him, at Scythopolis, a city of Celesyria.

3. So when Alexander was delivered from the fear he was in of Ptolemy, he presently made an expedition against Celesyria. He also took Gadara, after a siege of ten months. He took also Amathus, a very strong fortress belonging to the inhabitants above Jordan, where Theodorus the son of Zeno, had his chief treasure, and what he esteemed most precious. This Zeno fell unexpectedly upon the Jews, and slew ten thousand of them, and seized upon Alexander's baggage: Yet did not this misfortune terrify Alexander, but he made an expedition upon the maritime parts of the country, Raphia and Anthedon, (the name of which king Herod afterwards changed to Agrippias), and took even that by force, but when Alexander saw that Ptolemy was retired from Gaza to Cyprus and his mother Cleopatra was returned to Egypt, he grew angry at the people of Gaza, because they had invited Ptolemy to assist them, and besieged their city, and ravaged their country. But as Apollodotus, the general of the army of Gaza, fell upon the camp of the Jews by night, with two thousand foreign, and ten thousand of his own forces, while the night lasted, those of Gaza prevailed, because the enemy was made to believe that it was Ptolemy who attacked them; but when day was come on, and that mistake was corrected, and the Jews knew the truth of the matter, they came back again and fell upon those of Gaza, and slew of them about a thousand: but as those of Gaza stoutly resisted them, and would not yield for either their want of any thing, nor for the great multitude that were slain, for they would rather suffer any hardship whatever than come under the power of their enemies, Aretus, king of the Arabians, a person then very illustrious, encouraged them to go on with alacrity, and promised them that he would come to their assistance; but it happened, that before he came, Apollodotus was slain, for his brother Lysimachus envying him for the great reputation he had gained among the citizens, slew him, and got the army together, and delivered up the city to Alexander, who, when he came in at first, lay quiet, and afterward set his army

upon the inhabitants of Gaza, and gave them leave to punish them; so some went one way, and some went another, and slew the inhabitants of Gaza; yet were not they of cowardly hearts; but opposed those that came to slay them, and slew as many of the Jews; and some of them, when they saw themselves deserted, burnt their own houses, that the enemy might get none of their spoils; nay, some of them with their own hands, slew their children and their wives, having no other way but this of avoiding slavery for them; but the senators, who were in all five hundred, fled to Apollo's temple (for this attack happened to be made as they were sitting,) whom Alexander slew; and when he had utterly overthrown their city, he returned to Jerusalem, having spent a year in that siege.

4. About this very time * Antiochus, who was called Grypus died. His death was caused by Heracleon's treachery, when he had lived forty-five years, and had reigned † twenty-nine. His son Seleucus succeeded him in the kingdom; and made war with Antiochus, his father's brother, who was called Antiochus Cyzicenus, and beat him, and took him prisoner, and slew him. But after a while ‡ Antiochus, the son of Cyzicenus, who was called Pius, came to Aradus, and put the diadem on his own head; and made war with Seleucus, and beat him, and drove him out of all Syria. But when he fled out of Syria, he came to Mopsuestia again, and levied money upon them; but the people of Mopsuestia had indignation at what he did, and burnt down his palace, and slew him, together with his friends. But when Antiochus, the son of Cyzicenus, was king of Syria, § Antiochus the brother of Seleucus, made war upon him and was overcome, and destroyed, he and his army. After him, his brother Philip put on the diadem, and reigned over some part of Syria; but Ptolemy Lathyrus sent for his fourth brother Demetrius, who was called Eucerus from Cnidus, and made him king of Damascus. Both these brothers did Antiochus vehemently oppose, but presently died; for when he was come as an auxiliary to Laodice, ‖ queen of the Gileadites, when she was

* This account of the death of Antiochus Grypus is confirmed by Appian, Syriac. p. 132. here cited by Spanheim.

† Porphyry says, that this Antiochus Grypus reigned but 26 years, as Dr. Hudson observes.

‡ The copies of Josephus, both Greek and Latin, have here so grossly false a reading, *Antiochus* and *Antoninus*, or *Antonius Pius* for *Antiochus Pius*, that the editors are forced to correct the text from the other historians, who all agree that this king's name was nothing more than *Antiochus Pius*.

§ These two brothers, Antiochus and Philippus, are called *twins* by Porphyry; the fourth brother was king of Damascus. Both which are the observations of Spanheim.

‖ This Laodicea was a city of Gilead beyond Jordan. However Porphyry

making war against the Parthians, and as he was fighting courageously, he fell, while Demetrius and Philip governed Syria, as hath been elsewhere related.

5. As to Alexander, his own people were seditious against him; for at a festival which was then celebrated, when he stood upon the altar, and was going to sacrifice, the nation rose upon him, and pelted him with citrons, [which they then had in their hands,] because the law of the Jews required, that at the feast of tabernacles every one should have branches of the palm-tree and citron-tree: which thing we have elsewhere related. They also reviled him, as * derived from a captive, and so unworthy of his dignity, and of sacrificing. At this he was in a rage, and slew of them about six thousand. He also built a partition wall of wood round the altar and the temple, as far as that partition within which it was only lawful for the priests to enter, and by this means he obstructed the multitude from coming at him. He also maintained foreigners of Pisidiæ and Cilicia, for as to the Syrians, he was at war with them, and so made no use of them. He also overcame the Arabians, such as the Moabites, and Gileadites, and made them bring tribute.—Moreover, he demolished Amathus, while † Theodorus durst not fight with him; but as he had joined battle with Obedas, king of the Arabians, and fell into an ambush in the places that were rugged and difficult to be travelled over, he was thrown down into a deep valley, by the multitude of the camels at Gadara, a village of Gilead, and hardly escaped with his life.—From thence he fled to Jerusalem, where, besides his other ill success, the nation insulted him, and he fought against them for six years, and slew no fewer than fifty thousand of them.—And when he desired that they would desist from their ill-will to him, they hated him so much the more, on account of what had already happened; and when he had asked them what he ought to do! they all cried out, that "he ought to kill himself." They also sent to Demetrius Eucerus, and desired him to make a league of mutual defence with them.

says, that this Antiochus Pius did not die in this battle, but running away, was drowned in the river Orontes. Appian says that he was deprived of the kingdom of Syria by Tigranes; but Porphyry makes this Loadice, Queen of the Calamans—All which is noted by Spanheim. In such confusion of the latter historians, we have no reason to prefer any of them before Josephus, who had more original ones before him.

* This reproach upon Alexander, that he was sprung from a captive, seems only the repetition of the old Pharisaical calumny upon his father, chap. x. sect. v.

† This Theodorus was the son of Zeno, and was in possession of Amathus, as we learn from sect. 3. foregoing.

CHAP. XIV.

How Demetrius Eucerus overcame Alexander, and yet in a little time retired out of the country for fear of the Jews. As also how Alexander slew many of the Jews, and thereby got clear of his troubles. Concerning the death of Demetrius.

§ 1. So Demetrius came with an army, and took those that invited him; and pitched his camp near the city Shechem; upon which Alexander, with his six thousand two hundred mercenaries, and about twenty thousand Jews, who were of his party, went against Demetrius, who had three thousand horsemen, and forty thousand footmen. Now there were great endeavours used on both sides, Demetrius trying to bring off the mercenaries that were with Alexander, because they were Greeks, and Alexander trying to bring off the Jews that were with Demetrius. However when neither of them could persuade them so to do, they came to a battle, and Demetrius was the conqueror, in which all Alexander's mercenaries were killed, when they had given demonstration of their fidelity and courage. A great number of Demetrius's soldiers were slain also.

2. Now as Alexander fled to the mountains, six thousand of the Jews hereupon came together, [from Demetrius] to him, out of pity at the change of his fortune; upon which Demetrius was afraid, and retired out of the country; after which the Jews fought against Alexander, and being beaten, were slain in great numbers in the several battles which they had; and when he had shut up the most powerful of them in the city Bethome, he besieged them therein; and when he had taken the city, and gotten the men into his power, he brought them to Jerusalem, and did one of the most barbarous actions in the world to them: for as he was feasting with his concubines, in the sight of all the city, he ordered about eight hundred of them to be crucified, and while they were living he ordered the throats of their children and wives to be cut before their eyes. This was indeed by way of revenge for the injuries they had done him; which punishment yet was of an inhuman nature, though we suppose that he had been ever so much distressed, as indeed he had been, by his wars with them, for he had by their means come to the last degree of hazard, both of his life and of his kingdom, while they were not satisfied by themselves only to fight against him, but introduced foreigners also for the same purpose; nay, at length they reduced him to that degree of necessity, that he was forced to deliver back to the king of Arabia the land of Moab and Gilead; which he had subdued, and the places that were in them, that they might not join with them in the war against him,

as they had done ten thousand other things that tended to affront and reproach him. However this barbarity seems to have been without any necessity, on which account he bare the name of a Thracian * among the Jews; whereupon the soldiers that had fought against him, being about eight thousand in number, ran away by night, and continued fugitives all the time that Alexander lived; who being now freed from any farther disturbance from them, reigned the rest of his time in the utmost tranquillity.

3. But when Demetrius was departed out of Judea, he went to Berea, and besieged his brother Philip, having with him ten thousand footmen, and a thousand horsemen. However Strato the tyrant of Berea, the confederate of Philip, called in Zizon, the ruler of the Arabian tribes, and Mithridates Sinax, the ruler of the Parthians, who coming with a great number of forces and besieging Demetrius in his encampment, into which they had driven him with their arrows, they compelled those that were with him by thirst to deliver up themselves. So they took a great many spoils out of that country, and Demetrius himself, whom they sent to Mithridates, who was then king of Parthia; but as to those whom they took captives of the people of Antioch, they restored them to the Antiochians without any reward. Now Mithridates, the king of Parthia, had Demetrius in great honour, till Demetrius ended his life by sickness. So Philip, presently after the fight was over, came to Antioch, and took it, and reigned over Syria.

CHAP. XV.

How Antiochus, who was called Dionysus, and after him Aretas, made expeditions into Judea; as also how Alexander took many cities, and then returned to Jerusalem, and after a sickness of three years died; and what counsel he gave to Alexandra.

§ 1. After this Antiochus, who was called † Dionysus and was Philip's brother, aspired to the dominion, and came to Damascus, and got the power into his hands, and there he reigned: but as he was making war against the Arabians, his brother Philip heard of it, and came to Damascus, where Milesius, who had been left governor of the citadel, and the Damascens themselves, delivered up the city to him; yet because Philip was become ungrateful to him, and had bestowed upon him

* This name *Thracida*, which the Jews gave Alexander, must, by the coherence denote *as barbarous as a Thracian*, or somewhat like it; but what it properly signifies is not known.

† Spanheim takes notice, that this Antiochus Dionysus (the brother of Philip, and of Demetrius Eucerus, and of two others) was the fifth son of Antiochus Grypus; and that he is styled on the coins, *Antiochus Epiphanes Dionysus*.

nothing of that in hopes whereof he had received him into the city, but had a mind to have it believed that it was rather delivered up out of fear than by the kindness of Melesius, and because he had not rewarded him as he ought to have done, he became suspected by him, and so he was obliged to leave Damascus again; for Melesius caught him marching out into the Hippodrome and shut him up in it, and kept Damascus for Antiochus [Eucerus], who hearing how Philip's affairs stood, came back out of Arabia. He also came immediately, and made an expedition against Judea, with eight thousand armed footmen, and eight hundred horsemen. So Alexander out of fear of his coming, dug a deep ditch, beginning at Chabarzaba, which is now called Antipatris, to the sea of Joppa, on which part only his army could be brought against him. He also raised a wall, and erected wooden towers, and intermediate redoubts, for one hundred and fifty furlongs in length, and there expected the coming of Antiochus, but he soon burnt them all, and made his army pass by that way into Arabia. The Arabian king [Aretas] at first retreated, but afterward appeared on the sudden with ten thousand horsemen. Antiochus gave them the meeting, and fought desperately; and indeed when he had gotten the victory, and was bringing some auxiliaries to that part of his army that was in distress, he was slain. When Antiochus was fallen, his army fled to the village Cana, where the greatest part of them perished by famine.

2. After him * Aretas reigned over Celesyria, being called to the government by those that held Damascus, by reason of the hatred they bare to Ptolemy Menneus. He also made thence an expedition against Judea, and beat Alexander in battle, near a place called Adida, yet did he upon certain conditions agreed on between them, retire out of Judea.

3. But Alexander marched again to the city Dios, and took it; and then made an expedition against Essa, where was the best part of Zeno's treasures, and there he encompassed the place with three walls; and when he had taken the city by fighting, he marched to Golan and Seleucia; and when he had taken these cities, he, besides them, took that valley which is called the valley of Antiochus, as also the fortress of Gamala. He also accused Demetrius, who was governor of those places, of many crimes, and turned him out: and after he had spent three years in this war, he returned to his own country, when the Jews joyfully received him upon this his good success.

4. Now at this time the Jews were in possession of the follow-

* This Aretas was the first king of the Arabians who took Damascus, and reigned there: Which name became afterwards common to such Arabian kings, both at Petra and at Damascus, as we learn from Josephus in many places, and from St. Paul, 2 Cor. xi. 32. See the note on Antiq. B. XVI. ch. ix. § 4.

ing cities that had belonged to the Syrians, and Idumeans, and Phenicians; at the sea side, Strato's Tower, Apollonia, Joppa, Jamnia, Ashdod, Gaza, Anthedon, Raphia, and Rhinocolura; in the middle of the country, near to Idumea, Adora, and Marissa; near the country of Samaria, Mount Carmel, and Mount Tabor, Scythopolis, and Gardara; of the country of Gaulonites, Seleucia, and Gabala; in the country of Moab, Heshbon and Medaba, Lemba, and Oronas, Gelithon, Zara, the valley of the Celices, and Pella; which last they utterly destroyed, because its * inhabitants would not bear to change their religious rites for those peculiar to the Jews. The Jews also possessed others of the principal cities in Syria, which had been destroyed.

5. After this, king Alexander, although he fell into a distemper by hard drinking, and had a quartan ague, which held him three years, yet would not leave off going out with his army, till he was quite spent with the labours he had undergone, and died in the bounds of Regaba, a fortress beyond Jordan. But when his queen saw that he was ready to die, and had no longer any hopes of surviving, she came to him weeping and lamenting, and bewailed herself, and her sons, on the desolate condition they should be left in: and said to him, "To whom dost thou thus "leave me and my children, who are destitute of all other sup-"ports, and this when thou knowest how much ill-will thy na-"tion bears thee?" But he gave her the following advice, "That "she need but follow what he would suggest to her, in order "to retain the kingdom securely, with her children, that she "should conceal his death from the soldiers till she should have "taken that place; after this she should go in triumph, as upon "a victory, to Jerusalem, and put some of her authority into "the hands of the Pharisees, for that they would commend her "for the honour she had done them, and would reconcile the na-"tion to her; for he told her, they had great authority among the "Jews, both to do hurt to such as they hated, and to bring advan-"tages to those to whom they were friendly disposed, for that they "are then believed best of all by the multitude when they speak "any severe thing against others, though it be only out of envy "at them. And he said, that it was by their means that he had "incurred the displeasure of the nation, whom indeed he had in-

* We may here, and elsewhere, take notice, that whatever countries or cities, the Asamoneans conquered from any of the neighbouring nations, or whatever countries or cities they gained from them, that had not belonged to them before, they, after the days of Hyrcanus, compelled the inhabitants to leave their idolatry, and entirely to receive the law of Moses, as proselytes of Justice, or else banish them into other lands. That excellent prince, John Hyrcanus, did it to the Idumeans, as I have noted on ch. ix. sect. 1. already, who lived then in the promised land, and this I suppose justly; but by what right the rest did it, even to the countries or cities that were no part of that land, I do not at all know. This looks too like unjust persecution for religion.

"jured. Do thou, therefore, said he, when thou art come to "Jerusalem, send for the leading men among them, and show "them my body, and with great appearance of sincerity, give "them leave to use it as they themselves please, whether they "will dishonour the dead body by refusing it burial, as having "severely suffered by my means, or whether in their anger they "will offer any other injury to that body. Promise them also "that thou wilt do nothing without them in the affairs of the "kingdom. If thou dost but say this to them, I shall have the "honour of a more glorious funeral from them than thou couldst "have made for me; and when it is in their power to abuse my "dead body, they will do it no injury at all, and thou wilt rule "in safety."* So when he had given his wife this advice, he died, after he had reigned twenty-seven years, and lived fifty years within one.

CHAP. XVI.

How Alexandra, by gaining the good-will of the Pharisees, retained the kingdom nine years, and then having done many glorious actions, died.

§ 1. So Alexandra when she had taken the fortress, acted as her husband had suggested to her, and spake to the Pharisees, and put all things into their power, both as to the dead body,

* It seems, by this dying advice of Alexander Janneus to his wife, that he had himself pursued the measures of his father Hyrcanus, and taken part with the Sadducees, who kept close to the written law, against the Pharisees, who had introduced their own traditions, ch. xvi. § 2. and that he now saw a political necessity of submitting to the Pharisees, and their traditions hereafter, if his widow and family minded to retain their monarchical government or tyranny over the Jewish nation: Which sect yet, thus supported, were at least in great measure the ruin of the religion, government, and nation of the Jews, and brought them into so wicked a state, that the vengeance of God came upon them to their utter excision. Just thus did Caiaphas politically advise the Jewish sanhedrim, John xi. 50. *That it was expedient for them that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not*, and this in consequence of their own political supposal, ver. 48. that *If they let Jesus alone*, with his miracles, *all men would believe on him, and the Romans would come and take away both their place and nation*. Which political crucifixion of Jesus of Nazareth brought down the vengeance of God upon them, and occasioned those very Romans, of whom they seemed so much afraid, that to prevent it they put him to death, actually to *come and take away both their place and nation*, within 38 years afterwards. I heartily wish the politicians of Christendom would consider these and the like examples, and no longer sacrifice all virtue and religion to their pernicious schemes of government, to the bringing down the judgment of God upon themselves, and the several nations entrusted to their care. But this is a digression: I wish it were an unseasonable one also. Josephus himself several times makes such digressions, and I here venture to follow him. See one of them at the conclusion of the very next chapter.

and as to the affairs of the kingdom, and thereby pacified their anger against Alexander, and made them bear good-will and friendship to him; who then came among the multitude, and made speeches to them, and laid before them the actions of Alexander, and told them that they had lost a righteous king; and by the commendation they gave him, they brought them to grieve, and to be in heaviness for him, so that he had a funeral more splendid than had any of the kings before him. Alexander left behind him two sons, Hyrcanus, and Aristobulus, but committed the kingdom to Alexandra. Now, as to these two sons, Hyrcanus was indeed unable to manage public affairs, and delighted rather in a quiet life; but the younger, Aristobulus, was an active and a bold man; and for this woman herself, Alexandra, she was loved by the multitude, because she seemed displeased at the offences her husband had been guilty of.

2. So she made Hyrcanus high priest, because he was the elder, but much more because he cared not to meddle with politics, and permitted the Pharisees to do every thing; to whom also she ordered the multitude to be obedient. She also restored again those practices which the Pharisees had introduced, according to the traditions of their forefathers, and which her father-in-law, Hyrcanus, had abrogated. So she had indeed the name of the Regent, but the Pharisees had the authority; for it was they who restored such as had been banished, and set such as were prisoners at liberty, and, to say all at once, they differed in nothing from lords. However, the queen also took care of the affairs of the kingdom, and got together a great body of mercenary soldiers and increased her own army to such a degree, that she became terrible to the neighbouring tyrants, and took hostages of them: And the country was entirely at peace, excepting the Pharisees; for they disturbed the queen, and desired that she should kill those who persuaded Alexander to slay the eight hundred men; after which they cut the throat of one of them, Diogenes: and after him they did the same to several, one after another, till the men that were the most potent came into the palace, and Aristobulus with them, for he seemed to be displeased at what was done, and it appeared openly, that if he had an opportunity, he would not permit his mother to go on so. "These put the queen in mind what great dangers they had "gone through, and great things they had done, whereby they "had demonstrated the firmness of their fidelity to their master, "insomuch that they had received the greatest marks of favour "from him; and they begged of her, that she would not utterly blast their hopes, as it now happened, that when they "had escaped the hazards that arose from their [open] enemies, "they were to be cut off at home, by their [private] enemies,

" like brute beasts, without any help whatsoever. They said " also, that if their adversaries would be satisfied with those " that had been slain already, they would take what had been " done patiently, on account of their natural love to their go- " vernors; but if they must expect the same for the future al- " so, they implóred of her a dismission from her service, for " they could not bear to think of attempting any method for " their deliveranee without her, but would rather die willingly " before the palace-gate, in case she would not forgive them. " And that it was a great shame both for themselves, and for " the queen, that when they were neglected by her, they should " come under the lash of her husband's enemies; for that Are- " tas, the Arabian king, and the monarchs, would give any " reward, if they could get such men as foreign auxiliaries, to " whom their very names, before their voices be heard, may " perhaps be terrible: But if they could not obtain this their " second request, and if she had determined to prefer the Pha- " risees before them, they still insisted that she would place " them every one in her fortresses; for if some fatal demon had " a constant spite against Alexander's house, they would be will- " ling to bear their part, and to live in a private station there."

3. As these men said thus, and called upon Alexander's ghost for commiseration of those already slain, and those in danger of it, all the byestanders brake out into tears: But Aristobulus chiefly made manifest what were his sentiments, and used many reproachful expressions to his mother [saying], " Nay, indeed, " the case is this, that they have been themselves the authors, " of their own calamities, who have permitted a woman who, " against reason, was mad with ambition, to reign over them, " when there were sons in the flower of their age fitter for it." So Alexandra not knowing what to do with any decency, committed the fortresses to them, all but Hyrcania and Alexandrium, and Macherus, where her principal treasures were. After a little while also, she sent her son Aristobulus with an army to Damascus against Ptolemy, who was called Menneus who was such a bad neighbour to the city; but he did nothing considerable there and so returned home.

4. About this time news was brought that Tigranes, the king of Armenia, had made an irruption into Syria with * five hundred thousand soldiers, and was coming against Judea. This news,

* The number of 500,000 or even 300,000, as one Greek copy, with the Latin copies, have it, for Tigranes's army, that came out of Armenia into Syria and Judea, seems much too large. We have had already several such extravagant numbers in Josephus's present copies, which are not to be at all ascribed to him. Accordingly, I incline to Dr. Hudson's emendation here, which supposes them but 40,000.

as may well be supposed, terrified the queen and the nation. Accordingly they sent him many and very valuable presents; as also ambassadors, and that as he was besieging Ptolemais; for Selene the queen, the same that was also called Cleopatra, ruled then over Syria, who had persuaded the inhabitants to exclude Tigranes. So the Jewish ambassadors interceded with him, and entreated him that he would determine nothing that was severe about their queen or nation. He commended them for the respects they paid him at so great a distance: and gave them good hopes of his favour. But as soon as Ptolemais was taken, news came to Tigranes that Lucullus, in his pursuit of Mithridates, could not light upon him, who was fled into Iberia, but was laying waste Armenia and besieging its cities. Now, when Tigranes knew this he returned home.

5. After this, when the queen was fallen into a dangerous distemper, Aristobulus resolved to attempt the seizing of the government; so he stole away secretly by night, with only one of his servants, and went to the fortresses wherein his friends that were such from the days of his father, were settled: for as he had been a great while displeased at his mother's conduct, so he was now much more afraid, lest upon her death, their whole family should be under the power of the Pharisees, for he saw the inability of his brother, who was to succeed in the government: nor was any one conscious of what he was doing but only his wife, whom he left at Jerusalem with their children. He first of all came to Agaba, where was Galestes, one of the potent men before mentioned, and was received by him. When it was day the queen perceived that Aristobulus was fled; and for some time she supposed that his departure was not in order to make any innovation, but when messengers came one after another with the news that he had secured the first place, the second place, and all the places, for as soon as one had begun they all submitted to his disposal, then it was that the queen and the nation were in the greatest disorder, for they were aware that it would not be long ere Aristobulus would be able to settle himself firmly in the government. What they were principally afraid of was this, that he would inflict punishment upon them for the mad treatment his house had had from them: So they resolved to take his wife and children into custody, and keep them in the * fortress that was over the temple. Now there was a mighty conflux of people that came to Aristobulus from

* This fortress, castle, citadel, or tower, whether the wife and children of Aristobulus were now sent, and which overlooked the temple, could be no other than what Hyrcanus I. built, Antiq. B. XVIII. ch. iv. sect. 3. vol. III. and Herod the Great rebuilt, and called the *Tower of Antonia*, Antiq. B. XV. ch. xi. sect. 5. vol. II.

all parts, insomuch that he had a kind of royal attendants about him; for in a little more than fifteen days, he got twenty-two strong places, which gave him the opportunity of raising an army from Libanus and Trachonitis, and the monarchs: for men are easily led by the greater number, and easily submit to them. And besides this, that by affording him their assistance, when he could not expect it, they, as well as he, should have the advantages that would come by his being king, because they had been the occasion of his gaining the kingdom. Now the elders of the Jews, and Hyrcanus with them, went in unto the queen, and desired, "That she would give them her sentiments about "the present posture of affairs, for that Aristobulus was in effect lord of almost all the kingdom, by possessing of so many "strong holds, and that it was absurd for them to take any "counsel by themselves, how ill soever she were, whilst she "was alive, and that the danger would be upon them in no "long time." But she "bid them do what they thought proper to be done: that they had many circumstances in their "favour still remaining, a nation in good heart, an army, and "money in their several treasuries, for that she had small concern about public affairs now, when the strength of her body "already failed her."

6. Now a little while after she had said this to them, she died, when she had reigned nine years, and had in all lived seventy three. A woman she was who shewed no signs of the weakness of her sex, for she was sagacious to the greatest degree in her ambition of governing; and demonstrated by her doings at once, that her mind was fit for action, and that sometimes men themselves shew the little understanding they have by the frequent mistakes they make in point of government; for she always preferred the present to futurity, and preferred the power of an imperious dominion above all things, and in comparison of that had no regard to what was good, or what was right. However, she brought the affairs of her house to such an unfortunate condition, that she was the occasion of the taking away that authority from it, and that in no long time afterward, which she had obtained by a vast number of hazards and misfortunes, and this out of a desire of what does not belong to a woman, and all by a compliance in her sentiments with those that bare ill-will to their family, and by leaving the administration, destitute of a proper support of great men: and indeed, her management during her administration, while she was alive, was such, as filled the palace after her death with calamities and disturbance. However, although this had been her way of governing, she preserved the nation in peace. And this is the conclusion of the affairs of Alexandra.

BOOK XIV.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THIRTY TWO YEARS.

FROM THE DEATH OF QUEEN ALEXANDRA TO THE DEATH OF ANTIGONUS.

CHAP. I.

The war between Aristobulus and Hyrcanus about the kingdom; and how they made an agreement, that Aristobulus should be king, and Hyrcanus live a private life; as also how Hyrcanus, a little afterward, was persuaded by Antipater to fly to Aretas.

§ 1. We have related the affairs of Queen Alexandra, and her death in the foregoing book, and will now speak of what followed, and was connected with those histories; declaring, before we proceed, that we have nothing so much at heart as this, that we may * omit no facts either through ignorance or laziness, for we are upon the history and explication of such things as the greatest part are unacquainted withal, because of their distance from our times; and we aim to do it with a proper beauty of style, so far as that is derived from proper words harmonically disposed, and from such ornaments of speech also as may contribute to the pleasure of our readers, that we may entertain the knowledge of what we write with some agreeable satisfaction and pleasure. But the principal scope that authors ought to aim at above all the rest, is to speak accurately, and to speak truly, for the satisfaction of those that are otherwise unacquainted with such transactions, and obliged to believe what these writers inform them of.

2. Hyrcanus then began his high priesthood on the third year of the hundred seventy-seventh olympiad, when Quintius Hortensius and Quintus Metellus, who was called Metellus of Crete, were consuls at Rome; when presently Aristobulus began to make war against him, and as it came to a battle with Hyrcanus at Jericho, many of the soldiers deserted him, and went over to his brother; upon which Hyrcanus fled into the citadel, where Aristobulus's wife and children were imprisoned by their mother, as we have said already, and attacked and overcame those

* Reland takes notice here, very justly, how Josephus's declaration, that it was his great concern not only to write *an agreeable*, *an accurate*, and a *true* history, but also distinctly *not to omit any thing* [of consequence], either through *ignorance* or *laziness*, implies that he could not, consistently with that resolution omit the mention of [so famous a person as] *Jesus Christ.*

his adversaries that had fled thither, and lay within the walls of the temple. So when he had sent a message to his brother about agreeing the matters between them, he laid aside his enmity to him on these conditions, that Aristobulus should be king, that he should live without intermeddling with public affairs, and quietly enjoy the estate he had acquired. When they had agreed upon these terms in the temple, and had confirmed the agreement with oaths, and the giving one another their right hands, and embracing one another in the sight of the whole multitude, they departed; the one, Aristobulus, to the palace; and Hyrcanus, as a private man, to the former house of Aristobulus.

3. But there was a certain friend of Hyrcanus's, an Idumean, called Antipater, who was very rich, and in his nature an active and a seditious man; who was at enmity with Aristobulus, and had differences with him on account of his good will to Hyrcanus. It is true that Nicolaus of Damascus says, that Antipater was of the stock of the principal Jews who came out of Babylon into Judea; but that assertion of his was to gratify Herod, who was his son, and who, by certain revolutions of fortune, came afterward to be king of the Jews, whose history we shall give you in its proper place hereafter. However, this Antipater was at first called * Antipas, and that was his father's name also: of whom they relate this, that king Alexander and his wife made him general of all Idumea, and that he made a league of friendship with those Arabians, and Gazites, and Ascalonites, that were of his own party, and had, by many and large presents, made them his fast friends. But now, this younger Antipater was suspicious of the power of Aristobulus, and was afraid of some mischief he might do him, because of his hatred to him, so he stirred up the most powerful of the Jews and talked against him to them privately; and said, that "it was unjust to over-"look the conduct of Aristobulus, who had gotten the government "unrighteously, and ejected his brother out of it, who was the "elder, and ought to retain what belonged to him by preroga-"tive of his birth." And the same speeches he perpetually made to Hyrcanus; and told him, that his own life would be in danger, unless he guarded himself, and got shut of Aristobulus; for he said, that the friends of Aristobulus omitted no opportunity of advising him to kill him, as being then, and not before, sure to retain his principality. Hyrcanus gave no credit to these words of his, as being of a gentle disposition, and one that did not easily admit of calumnies against other men.—

* That the famous Antipater's or Antipas's father was also *Antipater* or *Antipas* (which two may justly be esteemed one and the same name, the former with a Greek or Gentile, the latter with an Hebrew or Jewish termination), Josephus here assures us, though Eusebius indeed says it was Herod.

This temper of his, not disposing him to meddle with public affairs, and want of spirit, occasioned him to appear to spectators to be degenerous and unmanly; while Aristobulus was of a contrary temper, an active man, and one of a great and generous soul.

4. Since therefore Antipater saw that Hyrcanus did not attend to what he said, he never ceased, day by day, to charge feigned crimes upon Aristobulus, and to calumniate him before him, as if he had a mind to kill him, and so, by urging him perpetually, he advised him, and persuaded him to fly to Aretas, the king of Arabia, and promised, that if he would comply with his advice, he would also himself assist him, [and go with him]. When Hyrcanus heard this, he said that it was for his advantage to fly away to Aretas. Now Arabia is a country that borders upon Judea. However, Hyrcanus sent Antipater first to the king of Arabia, in order to receive assurances from him, that when he should come in the manner of a supplicant to him, he would not deliver him up to his enemies. So Antipater having received such assurances, returned to Hyrcanus to Jerusalem. A while afterward he took Hyrcanus, and stole out of the city by night, and went a great journey, and came and brought him to the city called Petra, where the palace of Aretas was; and as he was a very familiar friend of that king's he persuaded him to bring back Hyrcanus into Judea, and his persuasion he continued every day without any intermission. He also proposed to make him presents on that account. At length he prevailed with Aretas in his suit. Moreover Hyrcanus promised him, that when he had been brought thither, and had received his kingdom, he would restore that country, and those twelve cities which his father Alexander had taken from the Arabians, which were these, Medaba, Naballo, Libias, Tharabasa, Agala, Athone, Zoar, Orone, Marissa, Rudda, Lussa, and Oruba.

CHAP. II.

How Aretas and Hyrcanus made an expedition against Aristobulus, and besieged Jerusalem; and how Scaurus, the Roman general, raised the siege. Concerning the death of Onias.

§ 1. After these promises had been given to Aretas, he made an expedition against Aristobulus, with an army of fifty thousand horse and foot, and beat him in the battle. And when after that victory many went over to Hyrcanus as deserters, Aristobulus was left desolate, and fled to Jerusalem; upon which the king of Arabia took all his army and made an assault upon the temple, and besieged Aristobulus therein, the peo-

ple still supporting Hyrcanus, and assisting him in the siege, while none but the priests continued with Aristobulus. So Aretus united the forces of the Arabians and of the Jews together, and pressed on the siege vigorously. As this happened at the time when the feast of unleavened bread was celebrated, which we call the passover, the principal men among the Jews left the country and fled into Egypt. Now there was one whose name was Onias, a righteous man he was, and beloved of God, who, in a certain drought, had prayed to God to put an end to the intense heat, and whose prayers God had heard, and had sent them rain. This man had hid himself, because he saw that this sedition would last a great while. However they brought him to the Jewish camp, and desired, that as by his prayers he had once put an end to the drought, so he would in like manner make imprecations on Aristobulus, and those of his faction. And when, upon his refusal, and the excuses that he made, he was still by the multitude compelled to speak, he stood up in the midst of them, and said, "O God, the king of the whole world! since those that "stand now with me are thy people, and those that are besieged "are also thy priests, I beseech thee, that thou wilt neither "hearken to the prayers of those against these, nor bring to "effect what these pray against those:" Whereupon such wicked Jews as stood about him, as soon as he had made this prayer, stoned him to death.

2. But God punished them immediately for this their barbarity, and took vengeance of them for the murder of Onias, in the manner following: While the priests and Aristobulus were besieged, it happened that the feast called the *Passover* was come, at which it is our custom to offer a great number of sacrifices to God; but those that were with Aristobulus wanted sacrifices, and desired that their countrymen without would furnish them with such sacrifices, and assured them they should have as much money for them as they should desire; and when they required them to pay a thousand drachmæ for each head of cattle, Aristobulus and the priests willingly undertook to pay for them accordingly, and those within let down the money over the walls, and gave it them. But when the others had received it, they did not deliver the sacrifices, but arrived at that height of wickedness as to break the assurances they had given, and to be guilty of impiety towards God, by not furnishing those that wanted them with sacrifices. And when the priests found they had been cheated, and that the agreements they had made were violated, they prayed to God, that he would avenge them on their countrymen. Nor did he delay that their punishment, but sent a strong and vehement storm of wind, that destroyed the fruits of the whole country, till a modius of wheat was then bought for eleven drachmæ.

3. In the meantime Pompey sent Scaurus into Syria, while he was himself in Armenia, and making war with Tigranes: But when Scaurus was come to Damascus, and found that Lollius and Metellus had newly taken the city, he came himself hastily into Judea. And when he was come thither, ambassadors came to him, both from Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, and both desired he would assist them. And when both of them promised to give him money, Aristobulus four hundred talents, and Hyrcanus no less, he accepted of Aristobulus's promise, for he was rich and had a great soul, and desired to obtain nothing but what was moderate; whereas the other was poor, and tenacious, and made incredible promises in hopes of greater advantages; for it was not the same thing to take a city, that was exceeding strong and powerful, as it was to eject out of the country some fugitives, with a greater number of Nabateans, who were no very warlike people. He therefore made an agreement with Aristobulus, for the reasons before mentioned, and took his money, and raised the siege, and ordered Aretas to depart, or else he should be declared an enemy to the Romans. So Scaurus returned to Damascus again; and Aristobulus, with a great army, made war with Aretas and Hyrcanus, and fought them at a place called *Papyron*, and beat them in the battle, and slew about six thousand of the enemy; with whom fell Phalion also, the brother of Antipater.

CHAP. III.

How Aristobulus and Hyrcanus came to Pompey, in order to argue who ought to have the kingdom; and how upon the flight of Aristobulus to the fortress Alexandrium, Pompey led his army against him, and ordered him to deliver up the fortresses whereof he was possessed.

§ 1. A LITTLE afterward Pompey came to Damascus, and marched over Celesyria, at which time there came ambassadors to him from all Syria, and Egypt, and out of Judea also, for Aristobulus had sent him a great present, which was a * golden vine, of the value of five hundred talents. Now

* This *golden vine* or *garden*, seen by Strabo at Rome, has its inscription here as if it were the gift of Alexander, the father of Aristobulus, and not of Aristobulus himself, to whom yet Josephus ascribes it; and in order to prove the truth of that part of his history, introduces this testimony of Strabo's; so that the ordinary copies seem to be here either erroneous or defective, and the original reading seems to have been either *Aristobulus*, instead of *Alexander*, with one Greek copy, or else *Aristobulus the son of Alexander*, with the Latin copies, which last seems to me the most probable—For as to Archbishop Usher's conjectures, that Alexander made it, and dedicated it to God in the temple, and that thence Aristobulus took it, and sent it to

Strabo of Cappadocia mentions this present in these words: "There came also an embassage out of Egypt, and a crown of "the value of four thousand pieces of gold, and out of Judea "there came another, whether you call it a vine or a garden: "They called the thing TERPULE, *The delight*. However, we "ourselves saw that present reposited at Rome, in the temple "of Jupiter Capitolinus, with this inscription, *The gift of Alex-"ander the king of the Jews*. It was valued at five hundred "talents; and the report is, that Aristobulus, the governor of "the Jews, sent it."

2. In a little time afterward came ambassadors again to him, Antipater from Hyrcanus, and Nicodemus from Aristobulus; which last also accused such as had taken bribes, first Gabinius, and then Scaurus, the one three hundred talents, and the other four hundred; by which procedure he made these two his enemies, besides those he had before. And when Pompey had ordered those that had controversies one with another to come to him in the beginning of the spring, he brought his army out of their winter quarters, and marched into the country of Damascus; and as he went along he demolished the citadel that was at Apamia, which Antiochus Cyzicenus had built, and took cognizance of the country of Ptolemy Menneus, a wicked man, and not less so than Dionysius of Tripoli, who had been beheaded, who was also his relation by marriage; yet did he buy off the punishment of his crimes for a thousand talents, with which money Pompey paid the soldiers their wages. He also conquered the place called *Lysias*, of which Silas a Jew, was tyrant. And when he had passed over the cities of Heliopolis and Chalcis, and got over the mountain which is on the limit of Celesyria, he came from Pella to Damascus; and there it was that he heard the causes of the Jews, and of their governors Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, who were at difference one with another, as also of the nation against them both, which did not desire to be under kingly government, because the form of government they received from their forefathers was that of subjection to the priests of that God whom they worshipped, and [they complained], that though these two were the posterity of priests, yet did they seek to change the government of their nation to another form, in order to enslave them. Hyrcanus complained, that although he were the elder brother, he was deprived of the prerogative of his birth by

Pompey, they are both very improbable, and no way agreeable to Josephus, who would hardly have avoided the recording both these uncommon points of history, had he known any of them; nor would either the Jewish nation, or even Pompey himself, then have relished such a flagrant instance of sacrilege.

Aristobulus, and that he hath but a small part of the country under him, Aristobulus having taken away the rest from him by force. He also accused him, that the incursions which had been made into their neighbours' countries, and the piracies that had been at sea, were owing to him; and that the nation would not have revolted, unless Aristobulus had been a man given to violence and disorder: and there were no fewer than a thousand Jews, of the best esteem among them, who confirmed this accusation: which confirmation was procured by Antipater. But Aristobulus alleged against him, that it was Hyrcanus's own temper, which was inactive, and on that account contemptible, which caused him to be deprived of the government; and that for himself he was necessitated to take it upon him, for fear lest it should be transferred to others. And that as to his title [of king], it was no other than what his father had taken [before him.] He also called for witnesses of what he said, some persons who were both young and insolent: whose purple garments, fine heads of hair, and other ornaments, were detested [by the court], and which they appeared in, not as though they were to plead their cause in a court of justice, but as if they were marching in a pompous procession.

3. When Pompey had heard the causes of these two, and had condemned Aristobulus for his violent procedure, he then spake civilly to them, and sent them away; and told them, that when he came again into their country he would settle all their affairs, after he had first taken a view of the affairs of the Nabateans. In the mean time, he ordered them to be quiet; and treated Aristobulus civilly, lest he should make the nation revolt, and hinder his return: which yet Aristobulus did; for without expecting any further determination, which Pompey had promised them, he went to the city Delius, and thence marched into Judea.

4. At this behaviour Pompey was angry; and taking with him that army which he was leading against the Nabateans, and the auxiliaries that came from Damascus, and the other parts of Syria, with the other Roman legions which he had with him, he made an expedition against Aristobulus: but as he passed by Pella, and Scythopolis, he came to Coreæ, which is the first entrance into Judea when one passes over the mid-land countries, where he came to a most beautiful fortress that was built on the top of a mountain called *Alexandrium*, whether Aristobulus had fled, and thence Pompey sent his commands to him, that he should come to him. Accordingly, at the persuasions of many, that he would not make war with the Romans, he came down: and when he had disputed with his brother about the right to the government; he went up again to the citadel, as

Pompey gave him leave to do; and this he did two or three times, as flattering himself with the hopes of having the kingdom granted him; so that he still pretended he would obey Pompey in whatsoever he commanded, although at the same time he retired to his fortress, that he might not depress himself too low, and that he might be prepared for a war, in case it should prove as he feared, that Pompey should transfer the government to Hyrcanus. But when Pompey enjoined Aristobulus to deliver up the fortresses he held, and to send an injunction to their governors under his own hand, for that purpose, for they had been forbidden to deliver them up upon any other commands, he submitted indeed to do so, but still he retired in displeasure to Jerusalem, and made preparation for war. A little after this, certain persons came out of Pontus, and informed Pompey, as he was on the way, and conducting his army against Aristobulus, that Mithridates was dead, and was slain by his son Pharnaces.

CHAP. IV.

How Pompey, when the citizens of Jerusalem shut the gates against him, besieged the city, and took it by force; as also what other things he did in Judea.

§ 1. Now when Pompey had pitched his camp at Jericho (where the * palm-tree grows, and that balsam which is an ointment of all the most precious, which upon any incision made in the wood with a sharp stone, distils out thence like a juice), he marched in the morning to Jerusalem. Hereupon Aristobulus repented of what he was doing, and came to Pompey, and [promised to] give him money, and received him into Jerusalem, and desired that he would leave off the war, and do what he pleased peaceably. So Pompey, upon his entreaty, forgave him: and sent Gabinius, and soldiers with him, to receive the money and the city: Yet was no part of this performed, but

* These express testimonies of Josephus's here, and Antiq. B. VIII. chap. vi. § 6. vol. I. and B. XV. chap. iv. § 2. vol. II. that the only balsam gardens, and the best palm-trees, were, at least in his days, near Jericho and Engaddi, about the north part of the dead sea (whereabout also Alexander the Great saw the balsam drop), shew the mistake of those that understand Eusebius and Jerom, as if one of those gardens were at the south part of that sea, at Zoar or Segor, whereas they must either mean another Zoar or Segor, which was between Jericho and Engaddi, agreeably to Josephus, which yet they do not appear to do, or else they directly contradict Josephus, and were therein greatly mistaken; unless that balsam, and the best palm-trees, grew much more southward in Judea in the days of Eusebius and Jerom than they did in the days of Josephus.

Gabinius came back being both excluded out of the city, and receiving none of the money promised, because Aristobulus's soldiers would not permit the agreements to be executed. At this Pompey was very angry, and put Aristobulus into prison, and came himself to the city, which was strong on every side, excepting the north, which was not so well fortified, for there was * a broad and deep ditch that encompassed the city, and included within the temple, which was itself encompassed about with a very strong stone wall.

2. Now there was a sedition of the men that were within the city, who did not agree what was to be done in their present circumstances, while some thought it best to deliver up the city to Pompey: but Aristobulus's party exhorted them to shut the gates, because he was kept in prison. Now these prevented the others and seized upon the temple, and cut off the bridge which reached from it to the city, and prepared themselves to abide a siege; but the others admitted Pompey's army in, and delivered up both the city and the king's palace to him. So Pompey sent his lieutenant Piso with an army, and placed garrisons both in the city and in the palace, to secure them, and fortified the houses that joined to the temple; and all those which were more distant, and without it. And in the first place, he offered terms of accommodation to those within, but when they would not comply with what was desired, he encompassed all the places thereabout with a wall, wherein Hyrcanus did gladly assist him on all occasions, but Pompey pitched his camp within [the wall]. on the north part of the temple, where it was most practicable; but even, on that side there were great towers, and a ditch had been dug, and a deep valley begirt it round about, for on the parts towards the city were precipices, and the bridge on which Pompey had gotten in, was broken down; however, a bank was raised day by day, with a great deal of labour, while the Romans cut down materials for it from the places round about: And when this bank was sufficiently raised and the ditch filled up, though but poorly, by reason of its immense depth, he brought his mechanical engines and battering rams from Tyre, and placing them on the bank he battered the temple with the stones that were thrown against it. And had it not been our practice, from the days of our forefathers, to rest on the se-

* The particular depth and breadth of this ditch whence the stones for the wall about the temple were probably taken, are omitted in our copies of Josephus, but set down by Strabo, B. XVI. p. 763. from whom we learn, that this ditch was 60 feet deep, and 250 feet broad. However, its depth is, in the first section, said by Josephus to be *immense*, which exactly agrees to Strabo's description, and which number in Strabo are a strong confirmation of the truth of Josephus's description also.

venth day, this bank could never have been perfected, by reason of the opposition the Jews would have made; for though our laws give us leave then to defend ourselves against those that began to fight with us, and assault us, yet it does not permit us to meddle with our enemies while they do any thing else.

3. Which thing when the Romans understood, on those days which we call Sabbaths, they threw nothing at the Jews, nor came to any pitched battle with them, but raised up their earthen banks, and brought their engines into such forwardness that they might do execution the next days. And any one may hence learn how very great piety we exercise towards God, and the observance of his laws, since the priests were not at all hindered from their sacred ministrations, by their fear during this siege, but did still twice a-day, in the morning, and about the ninth hour, offer their sacrifices on the altar; nor did they omit those sacrifices, if any melancholy accident happened, by the stones that were thrown among them; for although the city were taken on * the third month, on the day of the fast, upon the hundred seventy-ninth olympiad, when Caius Antonius and Marcus Tullius Cicero, were consuls, and the enemy then fell upon them, and cut the throats of those that were in the temple, yet could not those that offered the sacrifice be compelled to run away, neither by the fear they were in of their own lives, nor by the number that were already slain, as thinking it better to suffer whatever came upon them, at their very altars, than to omit any thing that their laws required of them. And that this is not a mere brag, or an encomium to manifest a degree of our piety that was false, but is the real truth; I appeal to those that have written of the acts of Pompey: and among them, to Strabo and Nicolaus [of Damascus]; and besides these two, Titus Livius, the writer of the Roman history, who will bear witness to this thing †.

4. But when the battering engine was brought near, the great-

* That is, on the 23d of Sivan, the annual fast for the defection and idolatry of Jeroboam, *who made Israel to sin*; or possibly some other fact might fall into that month, before and in the days of Josephus.

† It deserves here to be noted, that this Pharisaical superstitious notion, that offensive fighting was unlawful to Jews, even under the utmost necessity, on the Sabbath-day; of which we hear nothing before the times of the Maccabees, was the proper occasion of Jerusalem's being taken by Pompey, Sosius, and by Titus, as appears from the places already quoted in the note on Antiq. B. XIII. ch. viii. § 1. which scrupulous superstition, as to the observation of such a rigorous rest upon the Sabbath-day, our Saviour always opposed, when the Pharisaical Jews insisted on it, as is evident in many places of the New Testament, though he still intimated how pernicious that superstition might prove to them in their flight from the Romans, Mat. xxv. 20.

est of the towers was shaken by it, and fell down, and brake down a part of the fortifications, so the enemy poured in apace, and Cornelius Faustus, the son of Sylla, with his soldiers, first of all ascended the wall, and next to him Furius the centurion, with those that followed on the other part, while Fabius, who was also a centurion, ascended it in the middle, with a great body of men after him. But now all was full of slaughter; some of the Jews being slain by the Romans, and some by one another; nay, some there were who threw themselves down the precipices, or put fire to their houses, and burnt them, as not able to bear the miseries they were under. Of the Jews there fell twelve thousand, but of the Romans very few. Absolom, who was at once both uncle and father-in-law to Aristobulus, was taken captive. And no small enormities were committed about the temple itself, which, in former ages, had been inaccessible and seen by none; for Pompey went into it, and not a few of those that were with him also, and saw all that which it was unlawful for any other men to see but only for the high-priests. There were in that temple the golden table, the holy candlestick, and the pouring vessels, and a great quantity of spices; and besides these there were among the treasures two thousand talents of sacred money; Yet * did Pompey touch nothing of all this, on account of his regard to religion; and in this point also he acted in a manner that was worthy of his virtue. The next day he gave order to those that had the charge of the temple to cleanse it, and to bring what offerings the law required to God: and restored the high priesthood to Hyrcanus, both because he had been useful to him in other respects, and because he hindered the Jews in the country from giving Aristobulus any assistance in his war against him. He also cut off those that had been the authors of that war; and bestowed proper rewards on Faustus, and those others that mounted the wall with such alacrity: and he made Jerusalem tributary to the Romans; and took away those cities of Cœlesyria which the inhabitants of Judea had subdued, and put them under the goverment of the Roman president, and confined the whole nation, which had elevated itself so high before, within its own bounds. Moreover, he † rebuilt Gadara, which had been demolished a little before, to gratify Demetrius of Gadara, who was his freed man, and restored the rest of the cities, Hippos, and Scythopolis, and Pella and Dios, and Samaria, as also Marissa, and Ashdod, and Jam-

* This is fully confirmed by the testimony of Cicero, who says in his oration for Flaccus, That "Cneius Pompeius, when he was conqueror, and had taken "Jerusalem, did not touch any thing belonging to that temple,"

† Of this destruction of Gadara here presupposed, and its restoration by Pompey, see the note on the War, B. I. ch. vii. § 7. vol. III.

nia, and Arethusa, to their own inhabitants: these were in the inland parts. Besides those that had been demolished, and also of the maritime cities, Gaza, and Joppa, and Dora, and Strato's Tower; which last Herod rebuilt after a glorious manner, and adorned with havens, and temples, and changed its name to Cesarea. All these Pompey left in a state of freedom, and joined them to the province of Syria.

5. Now the occasions of this misery which came upon Jerusalem, were Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, by raising a sedition one against the other; for now we lost our liberty, and became subject to the Romans, and were deprived of that country which we had gained by our arms from the Syrians, and were compelled to restore it to the Syrians, Moreover, the Romans exacted of us, in a little time, above ten thousand talents. And the royal authority, which was a dignity formerly bestowed on those that were high-priests, by the right of their family, became the property of private men. But of these matters we shall treat in their proper places. Now Pompey committed Cœlesyria, as far as the river Euphrates and Egypt, to Scaurus, with two Roman legions, and then went away to Cilicia, and made haste to Rome. He also carried bound along with him Aristobulus and his children; for he had two daughters, and as many sons; the one of which ran away, but the younger, Antigonus, was carried to Rome, together with his sisters.

CHAP. V.

How Scaurus made a league of mutual assistance with Aretas.—And what Gabinius did in Judea, after he had conquered Alexander the son of Aristobulus.

§ 1. SCAURUS made now an expedition against Petrea, in Arabia, and set on fire all the places round about it, because of the great difficulty of acces to it. And as his army was pinched by famine, Antipater furnished him with corn out of Judea, and with whatever else he wanted, and this at the command of Hyrcanus. And when he was sent to Aretas, as an ambassador by Scaurus, because he had lived with him formerly, he persuaded Aretus to give Scaurus a sum of money, to prevent the burning of his country; and undertook to be his surety for three hundred talents. So Scaurus, upon these terms, ceased to make war any longer: which was done as much at Scaurus's desire, as at the desire of Aretas.

2. Some time after this, when Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, made an incursion into Judea, Gabinius came from Rome to Syria, as commander of the Roman forces. He did many

considerable actions: and particnlarly made war with Alexander, since Hyrcanus was not yet able to oppose his power, but was already attempting to build the walls of Jerusalem, which Pompey had overthrown, although the Romans, which were there, restrained him from that his design. However, Alexander went over all the country round about, and armed many of the Jews, and suddenly got together ten thousand armed footmen, and fifteen hundred horsemen, and fortified Alexandrium, a fortress near to Coræ and Macherus, near the mountains of Arabia. Gabinius therefore came upon him, having sent Marcus Antonius, with other commanders before. These armed such Romans as followed them; and, together with them, such Jews as were subject to them, whose leaders were Pitholaus and Malichus, and they took with them also their friends that were with Antipater, and met Alexander, while Gabinius himself followed with his legion. Hereupon Alexander retired to Jerusalem, where they fell upon one another, and it came to a pitched battle, in which the Romans slew of their enemies about three thousand, and took a like number alive.

3. At which time Gabinius came to Alexandrium, and invited those that were in it to deliver it up on certain conditions, and promised that then their former offences should be forgiven: But as a great number of the enemy had pitched their camp before the fortress, whom the Romans attacked. Marcus Antonius fought bravely, and slew a great number, and seemed to come off with the greatest honour. So Gabinius left part of his army there, in order to take the place, and he himself went into other parts of Judea, and gave order to rebuild all the cities that he met with that had been demolished; at which time were rebuilt Samaria, Ashdod, Scythopolis, Anthedon, Raphia, and Dora; Marissa also, and Gaza, and not a few others besides. And as the men acted according to Gabinius's command, it came to pass, that at this time these cities were securely inhabited, which had been desolate for a long time.

4. When Gabinius had done thus in the country, he returned to Alexandrium; and when he urged on the siege of the place, Alexander sent an embassage to him, desiring that he would pardon his former offences; he also delivered up the fortresses, Hyrcania, and Macherus; and at last Alexandrium itself, which fortresses Gabinius demolished. But when Alexander's mother, who was of the side of the Romans, as having her husband and other children at Rome, came to him, he granted her whatsoever she asked; and when he had settled matters with her, he brought Hyrcanus to Jerusalem, and committed the care of the temple to him. and when he had ordained five councils, he distributed the same nation into the same number of parts: So these coun-

cils governed the people; the first was at Jerusalem, the second at Gadara, the third at Amathus, the fourth at Jericho, and the fifth in Sepphoris in Galilee. So the Jews were now freed from monarchic authority, and were governed by an * aristocracy.

CHAP. VI.

How Gabinius caught Aristobolus after he had fled from Rome, and sent him back to Rome again; and how the same Gabinius, as he returned out of Egypt, overcame Alexander and the Nabateans in battle.

§ 1. Now Aristobulus ran away from Rome to Judea, and set about the rebuilding of Alexandrium, which had been newly demolished: Hereupon Gabinius sent soldiers against him, and for their commanders Sisenna, and Antonius, and Servilius, in order to hinder him from getting possession of the country, and to take him again. And indeed many of the Jews ran to Aristobulus, on account of his former glory, as also because they should be glad of an innovation. Now, there was one Pitholaus, a lieutenant at Jerusalem, who deserted to him with a thousand men, although a great number of those that came to him were unarmed; and when Aristobulus had resolved to go to Macherus, he dismissed those people, because they were unarmed, for they could not be useful to him in what actions they were going about, but he took with him eight thousand that were armed, and marched on: and as the Romans fell upon them severely, the Jews fought valiantly, but were beaten in the battle and when they had fought with alacrity, but were over borne by the enemy, they were put to flight; of whom were slain about five thousand, and the rest being dispersed, tried as well as they were able, to save themselves. However, Aristobulus had with him still above a thousand, and with them he fled to Macherus and fortified the place, and though he had had ill succes, he still had good hope of his affairs: but when he had struggled against the siege for two days' time, and had received many wounds, he was brought as a captive to Gabinius, with his son Antigonius, who also fled with him from Rome. And this was the fortune of Aristobulus, who was sent back again to Rome, and was there retained in bonds, having been both king and high-priest for three years and six months; and was

* Dean Prideaux well observes, " That notwithstanding the clamour against " Gabinius at Rome, Josephus gives him a laudable character, as if he had ac- " quitted himself with honour in the charge committed to him," [in Judea], See at the year 56.

indeed an eminent person and one of a great soul. However, the senate let his children go, upon Gabinius's writing to them, that he had promised their mother so much when she delivered up the fortresses to him; and accordingly they then returned into Judea.

2. Now when Gabinius was making an expedition against the Parthians, and had already passed over Euphrates, he changed his mind and resolved to return into Egypt, in order to * restore Ptolemy to his kingdom. This hath also, been related elsewhere. However, Antipater supplied his army, which he sent against Archelaus, with corn and weapons, and money. He also made those Jews who were above Pelusium, his friends and confederates, and had been the guardians of the passes that led into Egypt. But when he came back out of Egypt, he found Syria in disorder, with seditions and troubles; for Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, having seized on the government a second time by force, made many of the Jews revolt to him, and so he marched over the country with a great army, and slew all the Romans he could light upon, and proceeded to besiege the mountain called Gerrizzim, whither they had retreated.

3. But when Gabinius found Syria in such a state, he sent Antipater who was a prudent man, to those that were seditious, to try whether he could cure them of their madness, and persuade them to return to a better mind, and when he came to them, he brought many of them to a sound mind, and induced them to do what they ought to do, but he could not restrain Alexander, for he had an army of thirty thousand Jews, and met Gabinius, and joining battle with him, was beaten, and lost ten thousand of his men about mount Tabor.

4. So Gabinius settled the affairs which belonged to the city Jerusalem, as was agreeable to Antipater's inclination, and went against the Nabateans, and overcame them in battle. He also sent away in a friendly manner Mithridates and Orsanes, who were Parthian deserters, and came to him, though the report went abroad that they had run away from him. And when Gabinius had performed great and glorious actions, in his management of the affairs of war, he returned to Rome, and delivered the government to Crassus. Now, Nicolaus of Damascus, and Strabo of Cappadocia, both describe the expeditions of Pompey and Gabinius against the Jews, while neither of them say any thing new which is not in the other.

* This history is best illustrated by Dr. Hudson out of Livy, who says, "That A. Gabinius the proconsul, restored Ptolemy to his kingdom of Egypt, "and ejected Archelaus, whom they had set up for king," &c. See Prid. at the years 64 and 65.

CHAP. VII.

How Crassus came into Judea, and pillaged the temple; and then marched against the Parthians, and perished, with his army. Also how Cassius obtained Syria; and put a stop to the Parthians, and then went up to Judea.

§ 1. Now Crassus, as he was going upon his expedition against the Parthians, came into Judea, and carried off the money that was in the temple, which Pompey had left: being two thousand talents, and was disposed to spoil it of all the gold belonging to it, which was eight thousand talents. He also took a beam, which was made of solid beaten gold, of the weight of three hundred minæ; each of which weighed two pounds and an half. It was the priest who was guardian of the sacred treasures, and whose name was *Eleazar*, that gave him this beam, not out of a wicked design, for he was a good and a righteous man, but being entrusted with the custody of the veils belonging to the temple, which were of admirable beauty, and of very costly workmanship, and hung down from this beam, when he saw that Crassus was busy in gathering money, and was in fear for the entire ornaments of the temple, he gave him this beam of gold as a ransom for the whole, but this not till he had given his oath that he would remove nothing else out of the temple, but be satisfied with this only, which he should give him, being worth many ten thousand [shekels]. Now, this beam was contained in a wooden beam that was hollow; but was known to no others, but Eleazar alone knew it; yet did Crassus take away this beam, upon the condition of touching nothing else that belonged to the temple, and then brake his oath, and carried away all the gold that was in the temple.

2. And let no one wonder that there was so much wealth in our temple, since all the Jews throughout the habitable earth, and those that worshipped God, nay, even those of Asia and Europe, sent their contributions to it, and this from very ancient times. Nor is the largeness of these sums without its attestation; nor is that greatness owing to our vanity, as raising it without ground to so great an height: But there are many witnesses to it, and particularly Strabo of Cappadocia, who says thus; "Mithridates sent to Cos, and took the money which queen "Cleopatra had deposited there, as also eight hundred talents "belonging to the Jews." Now, we have no public money but only what appertains to God; and it is evident that the Asian Jews removed this money out of fear of Mithridates, for it is not probable that those of Judea, who had a strong city and

temple, should send their money to Cos, nor is it likely that the Jews, who are inhabitants of Alexandria, should do so neither, since they were in no fear of Mithridates. And Strabo himself bears witness to the same thing in another place, that at the same time that Sylla passed over into Greece, in order to fight against Mithridates, he sent Lucullus to put an end to a sedition that our nation, of whom the habitable earth is full, had raised in Cyrene; where he speaks thus: "There were four classes of "men among those of Cyrene, that of citizens, that of hus-"bandmen, the third of strangers, and the fourth of Jews. Now "these Jews are already gotten into all cities, and it is hard to "find a place in the habitable earth that hath not admitted this "tribe of men, and is not possessed by it: And it hath come to "pass that Egypt and Cyrene, as having the same governors, "and a great number of other nations, imitate their way of li-"ving, and maintain great bodies of these Jews in a peculiar "manner, and grow up to greater prosperity with them, and "make use of the same laws with that nation also. Accord-"ingly the Jews have places assigned them in Egypt, wherein "they inhabit, besides what is peculiarly allotted to this nation "at Alexandria, which is a large part of that city. There is "also an ethnarch allowed them, who governs the nation; and "distributes justice to them, and takes care of their contracts, "and of the laws to them belonging, as if he were the ruler of "a free republic. In Egypt, therefore, this nation is power-"ful, because the Jews were originally Egyptians, and because "the land wherein they inhabit, since they went thence, is near "to Egypt. They also removed into Cyrene, because that this "land adjoined to the government of Egypt, as well as does "Judea, or rather was formerly under the same government." And this is what Strabo says.

3. So when Crassus had settled all things as he himself pleased, he marched into Parthia, where both he himself and all his army perished, as hath been related elsewhere. But Cassius as he fled from Rome to Syria, took possession of it, and was an impediment to the Parthians, who by reason of their victory over Crassus, made incursions upon it: And as he came back to Tyre, he went up into Judea also, and fell upon Tarichæ, and presently took it, and carried about thirty thousand Jews captives; and slew Pitholaus, who succeeded Aristobulus in his seditious practices, and that by the persuasion of Antipater, who proved to have great interest in him, and was at that time in great repute with the Idumeans also: Out of which nation he married a wife, who was the daughter of one of their eminent men, and her name was * *Cypros*, by whom he had four sons,

* Dr. Hudson observes, that the name of this wife of Antipater's in Josephus was *Cypras*, as an Hebrew termination, but not *Cypris*, the Greek name for Venus, as some critics were ready to correct it.

Phasael, and Herod, who was afterwards made king, and Joseph, and Pheroras; and a daughter named *Salome*. This Antipater cultivated also a friendship and mutual kindness with other potentates but especially with the king of Arabia, to whom he committed his children, while he fought against Aristobulus. So Cassius removed his camp, and marched to Euphrates, to meet those that were coming to attack him, as hath been related by others.

4. But some time afterward, Cæsar, when he had taken Rome, and after Pompey and the senate were fled beyond the Ionian sea, freed Aristobulus from his bonds, and resolved to send him into Syria, and delivered two legions to him, that he might see matters right, as being a potent man in that country: But Aristobulus had no enjoyment of what he hoped for from the power that was given him by Cæsar, for those of Pompey's party prevented it, and destroyed him by poison, and those of Cæsar's party buried him. His dead body also lay, for a good while, embalmed in honey, till Antony afterward sent it to Judea, and caused him to be buried in the royal sepulchre. But Scipio, upon Pompey's sending to him to slay Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, because the young man was accused of what offences he had been guilty of at first against the Romans, cut off his head; and thus did he die at Antioch. But Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, who was the ruler of Chalcis, under mount Libanus, took his brethren to him, and sent his son Philippion to Askelon to Aristobulus's wife, and desired her to send back with him her son Antigonus, and her daughters: The one of which, whose name was *Alexandra*, Philippion fell in love with and married her, though afterward his father Ptolemy slew him, and married Alexandra, and continued to take care of her brethren.

CHAP. VIII.

The Jews become confederates with Cæsar when he fought against Egypt. The glorious actions of Antipater, and his friendship with Cæsar. The honours which the Jews received from the Romans and Athenians.

§ 1. Now after Pompey was dead, and after that victory Cæsar had gained over him, Antipater, who managed the Jewish affairs, became very useful to Cæsar when he made war against Egypt, and that by the order of Hyrcanus: For when Mithridates of Pergamus was bringing his auxiliaries, and was not able to continue his march through Pelusium, but obliged to stay at Askelon, Antipater came to him, conducting three thou-

sand of the Jews, armed men: He had also taken care the principal men of the Arabians should come to his assistance; and on his account it was that all the Syrians assisted him also, as not willing to appear behind hand in their alacrity for Cæsar, *viz.* Jamblicus the ruler, and Ptolemy his son, and Tholomy the son of Sohemus, who dwelt at mount Libanus, and almost all the cities. So Mithridates marched out of Syria, and came to Pelusium; and when its inhabitants would not admit him, he besieged the city. Now Antipater signalized himself here, and was the first who plucked down a part of the wall, and so opened a way to the rest, whereby they might enter the city, and by this means Pelusium was taken: but it happened that the Egyptian Jews, who dwelt in the country called Onion, would not let Antipater and Mithridates, with their soldiers, pass to Cæsar, but Antipater persuaded them to come over to their party, because he was of the same people with them, and that chiefly by shewing them the epistles of Hyrcanus the high priest, wherein he exhorted them to cultivate friendship with Cæsar, and to supply his army with money, and all sorts of provisions which they wanted: and accordingly, when they saw Antipater and the high priest of the same sentiments, they did as they were desired.— And when the Jews about Memphis heard that these Jews were come over to Cæsar, they also invited Mithridates to come to them; so he came and received them also into his army.

2. And when Mithridates had gone over all Delta, as the place is called, he came to a pitched battle with the enemy, near the place called the Jewish camp. Now Mithridates had the right wing, and Antipater the left; and when it came to a fight that wing where Mithridates was gave way, and was likely to suffer extremely, unless Antipater had come running to him with his own soldiers along the shore, when he had already beaten the enemy that opposed him: so he delivered Mithridates, and put those Egyptians who had been too hard for him to flight. He also took their camp, and continued in the pursuit of them. He also recalled Mithridates, who had been worsted, and was retired a great way off; of whose soldiers eight hundred fell, but of Antipater's fifty. So Mithridates sent an account of this battle to Cæsar, and openly declared, that Antipater was the author of this victory, and of his own preservation, insomuch that Cæsar commended Antipater then, and made use of him all the rest of that war in the most hazardous undertakings, he happened also to be wounded in one of those engagements.

3. However, when Cæsar, after some time, had finished that war, and was sailed away for Syria, he honoured Antipater greatly, and confirmed Hyrcanus in the high priesthood; and bestowed on Antipater the privilege of a citizen of Rome, and a

freedom from taxes every where: and it is reported by many, that Hyrcanus went along with Antipater in this expedition, and came himself into Egypt. And Strabo of Capadocia bears witness to this, when he says thus, in the name of Asinius; "After Mithridates had invaded Egypt, and with him Hyrcanus the high priest of the Jews." Nay, the same Strabo says thus again, in another place, in the name of Hypsicrates, that "Mithridates at first went out alone, but that Antipater, who had the care of the Jewish affairs, was called by him to Askelon, and that he had gotten ready three thousand soldiers to go along with him, and encouraged other governors of the country to go along with him also; and that Hyrcanus the high priest, was also present in this expedition." This is what Strabo says.

4. But Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, came at this time to Cæsar, and "lamented his father's fate: and complained that it was by Antipater's means that Aristobulus was taken off by poison, and his brother was beheaded by Scipio, and desired that he would take pity of him who had been ejected out of that principality which was due to him." He also accused Hyrcanus and Antipater as governing the nation by violence, and offering injuries to him. Antipater was present, and made his defence as to the accusations that were laid against him. He demonstrated, that "Antigonus and his party were given to innovation, and were seditious persons. He also put Cæsar in mind what difficult services he had undergone when he assisted him in his wars, and discoursed about what he was a witness of himself. He added, that Aristobulus was justly carried away to Rome, as one that was an enemy to the Romans, and could never be brought to be a friend to them, and that his brother had no more than he deserved from Scipio, as being seized in committing robberies; and that this punishment was not inflicted on him in a way of violence or injustice by him that did it."

5. When Antipater had made this speech, Cæsar appointed Hyrcanus to be high priest; and gave Antipater what principality he himself should choose, leaving the determination to himself: So he made him procurator of Judea. He also gave Hyrcanus leave to raise up the walls of his own city, upon his asking that favour of him, for they had been demolished by Pompey. And this grant he sent to the consuls to Rome, to be engraven in the capitol. The * decree of the senate was this that

* Take Dr. Hudson's note upon this place, which I suppose to be the truth: "Here is some mistake in Josephus: for when he had promised us a decree for the restoration of Jerusalem, he brings in a decree of far greater antiquity, and that a league of friendship and union only. One may easily believe that Josephus

follows: "Lucius Valerius, the son of Lucius the pretor referred this to the senate, upon the ides of December, in the temple of Concord. There were present at the writing of this decree Lucius Coponius, the son of Lucius of the Colline tribe, and Pepirius of the Quirine tribe, concerning the affairs which Alexander the son of Jason, and Numenius the son of Antiochus, and Alexander the son of Dositheus, ambassadors of the Jews, good and worthy men, proposed, who came to renew that league of good-will and friendship with the Romans which was in being before. They also brought a shield of gold, as a mark of confederacy, valued at fifty thousand pieces of gold; and desired that letters might be given them, directed both to the free cities and to the kings, that their country and their havens might be at peace, and that no one among them might receive any injury. It therefore pleased [the senate] to make a league of friendship and good-will with them, and to bestow on them whatsoever they stood in need of, and to accept of the shield which was brought by them. This was done in the ninth year of Hyrcanus the high priest and ethnarch, in the month Panemus." Hyrcanus also received honours from the people of Athens, as having been useful to them on many occasions. And when they wrote to him they sent him this decree, as it here follows; "Under the Prutaneia and priesthood of Dionysius, the son of Esculapius, on the fifth day of the latter part of the month Panemus, this decree of the Athenians was given to their commanders, when Agathocles was archon, and Eucles, the son of Menander of Alimusia, was the scribe. In the month Munychion, on the eleventh day of the Prutaneia, a council of the presidents was held in the theatre. Dorotheus the high priest, and the fellow presidents with him, put it to the vote of the people. Dionysius the son of Dionysius, gave the sentence: Since Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, continues to bear good-will to our people in general, and to every one of our citizens in particular, and treats them with all sorts of kindness; and when any of the Athenians come to him, either as ambassadors, or on any occasion of their own, he receives them in an

"gave order for one thing, and his amanuensis performed another, by transposing "decrees that concerned the Hyrcani, and as deluded by the sameness of their "names, for that belongs to the *first* high priest of this name, (John Hyrcanus), "which Josephus here ascribes to one that lived *later*, (Hyrcanus the son of Alexander Janneus). However, the decrees which he proposes to set down follows a "little lower, in the collection of Roman decrees, that concerned the Jews, and is "that dated when Cæsar was consul the fifth time." See chap. 10. § 5.

"obliging manner, and sees that they are conducted back in "safety, of which we have had several former testimonies, it "is now also decreed, at the report of Theodosius, the son of "Theodorus, and upon his putting the people in mind of the "virtue of this man, and that his purpose is to do us all the "good that is in his power, to honour him with a crown of gold, "the usual reward according to the law, and to erect his statue "in brass in the temple of Demus, and of the graces; and that "this present of a crown shall be proclaimed publicly in the "theatre, in the Dionysian shows, while the new tragedies are "acting; and in the Panathenean, and Eleusinian, and Gymni-"cal shows also; and that the commanders shall take care, while "he continues in his friendship, and preserves his good-will to "us, to return all possible honour and favour to the man for "his affection and generosity; that by this treatment it may "appear how our people receive the good kindly; and repay "them a suitable reward; and he may be induced to proceed "in his affection towards us, by the honours we have already "paid him. That ambassadors be also chosen out of all the "Athenians, who shall carry this decree to him, and desire him "to accept of the honours we do him, and to endeavour always "to be doing some good to our city." And this shall suffice us to have spoken as to the honours that were paid by the Romans and the people of Athens to Hyrcanus.

CHAP. IX.

How Antipater committed the care of Galilee to Herod, and that of Jerusalem to Phasaelus; as also, how Herod, upon the Jews' envy at Antipater, was accused before Hyrcanus.

§ 1. Now when Cæsar had settled the affairs of Syria, he sailed away; And as soon as Antipater had conducted Cæsar out of Syria, he returned to Judea. He then immediately raised up the wall which had been thrown down by Pompey; and, by coming thither, he pacified that tumult which had been in the country; and this by both threatening and advising them to be quiet: For that "If they would be of Hyrcanus's "side, they would live happily, and lead their lives without "disturbance, in the enjoyment of their own possessions; but if "they were addicted to the hopes of what might come by in-"novation, and aimed to get wealth thereby, they should have "him a severe master, instead of a gentle governor, and Hyr-"canus a tyrant, instead of a king, and the Romans, together "with Cæsar, their bitter enemies, instead of rulers, for that "they would never bear him to be set aside whom they had ap-

"pointed to govern." And when Antipater had said this to them, he himself settled the affairs of this country.

2. And seeing that Hyrcanus was of a slow and slothful temper, he made Phasaelus, his eldest son, governor of Jerusalem, and of the places that were about it, but committed Galilee to Herod, his next son, who was then a very young man, for he was but * fifteen years of age: But that youth of his was no impediment to him; but as he was a youth of great mind, he presently met with an opportunity of signalizing his courage; for finding that there was one Hezekias, a captain of a band of robbers, who over-ran the neighbouring parts of Syria, with a great troop of them, he seized him, and slew him, as well as a great number of the other robbers that were with him; for which action he was greatly beloved by the Syrians: for when they were very desirous to have their country freed from this nest of robbers, he purged it of them: So they sung songs in his commendation, in their villages and cities, as having procured them peace, and the secure enjoyment of their possessions, and on this account it was that he became known to Sextus Cæsar, who was a relation of the great Cæsar's, and was now president of Syria. Now Phasaelus, Herod's brother, was moved with emulation at his actions, and envied the fame he had thereby gotten, and became ambitious not to be behind-hand with him in deserving it: So he made the inhabitants of Jerusalem bear him the greatest good-will, while he held the city himself, but did neither manage its affairs improperly, nor abuse his authority therein. This conduct procured from the nation to Antipater such respect as is due to kings, and such honours as he might partake of if he were an absolute lord of the country.—Yet did not this splendour of his, as frequently happens, in the least diminish in him that kindness and fidelity which he owed to Hyrcanus.

3. But now the principal men among the Jews, when they saw Antipater and his sons to grow so much in the good-will the nation bare to them, and in the revenues which they received out of Judea, and out of Hyrcanus's own wealth, they became ill disposed to him: for indeed Antipater had contracted a friendship with the Roman emperors: and when he had prevailed with Hyrcanus to send them money, he took it to himself, and

* Those who will carefully observe the several occasional numbers and chronological characters in the life and death of this Herod, and of his children, hereafter noted, will see, that *twenty-five* years, and not *fifteen*, must for certain have been here Josephus's own number for the age of Herod, when he was made governor of Galilee. See ch. xxiii. sect. 5. and ch. xxiv. sect. 7. and particularly Antiq. B. XVII. ch. viii. sect. 1. vol. III, where about 44 years afterwards Herod dies an old man at about 70.

purloined the present intended, and sent it as if it were his own, and not Hyrcanus's gift to them. Hyrcanus heard of this his management, but took no care about it: nay, he rather was very glad of it: But the chief men of the Jews were therefore in fear, because they saw that Herod was a violent and bold man, and very desirous of acting tyrannically; so they came to Hyrcanus, and now accused Antipater openly, and said to him, "How long wilt thou be quiet under such actions as are now "done? Or doest thou not see that Antipater and his sons have "already seized upon the government? and that it is only the "name of a king which is given thee? But do not thou suffer "these things to be hidden from thee; nor do thou think to "escape danger, by being so careless of thyself and of thy king-"dom, for Antipater and his sons are not now stewards of "thine affairs: do not thou deceive thyself with such a notion, "they are evidently absolutely lords, for Herod, Antipater's "son, hath slain Hezekiah and those that were with him, and "hath thereby transgressed our law, which hath forbidden to "slay any man, even though he were a wicked man, unless he "had been first * condemned to suffer death by the sanhedrim; "yet hath he been so insolent as to do this, and that without "any authority from thee."

4. Upon Hyrcanus's hearing this, he complied with them. The mothers also of those that had been slain by Herod raised this indignation; for those women continued every day in the temple, persuading the king and the people, that Herod might undergo a trial before the sanhedrim for what he had done.—Hyrcanus was so moved by these complaints, that he summoned Herod to come to his trial, for what was charged upon him. Accordingly he came: but his father had persuaded him to come not like a private man, but with a guard, for the security of his person; and that when he had settled the affairs of Galilee in the best manner he could for his own advantage, he should come to his trial, but still with a body of men sufficient for his security on his journey, yet so that he should not come with so great a force as might look like terrifying Hyrcanus, but still such an one as might not expose him naked and unguarded [to his enemies.] However, Sextus Cæsar, president of Syria, wrote to Hyrcanus, and desired him to clear Herod, and dismiss him at his trial, and

* It is here worth our while to remark, that none could be put to death in Judea, but by the approbation of the Jewish sanhedrim, there being an excellent provision in the law of Moses, that even in criminal causes, and particularly where life was concerned, an appeal should lie from the lesser councils of seven in the other cities, to the supreme council of seventy-one at Jerusalem. And this is exactly according to our Saviour's words, when he says, "It could not be that a prophet should perish out of Jerusalem," Luke xiii. 33.

threatened him before hand, if he did not do it. Which epistle of his was the occasion of Hyrcanus's delivering Herod from suffering any harm from the sanhedrim, for he loved him as his own son. But when Herod stood before the sanhedrim with his body of men about him, he affrighted them all, and no one of his former accusers durst after that bring any charge against him, but there was a deep silence, and nobody knew what was to be done. When affairs stood thus, one whose name was * *Semeas*, a righteous man he was, and for that reason above all fear, who rose up, and said, "O you that are assessors with me, and O thou "that art our king, I neither have ever myself known such a case, "nor do I suppose that any one of you can name its parallel, that "one who is called to take his trial by us ever stood in such a "manner before us; but every one whosoever he be, that comes "to be tried by this sanhedrim, presents himself in a submissive "manner, and like one that is in fear of himself, and that endeavours to move us to compassion, with his hair dishevelled, "and in a black mourning garment: but this admirable man "Herod, who is accused of murder, and called to answer so heavy "an accusation, stands here clothed in purple, and with the hair "of his head finely trimmed, and with his armed men about him, "that if we shall condemn him by our law, he may slay us, and "by overbearing justice, may himself escape death. Yet do not "I make this complaint against Herod himself: he is to be sure "more concerned for himself than for the laws; but my complaint is against yourselves, and your king, who gave him a "license so to do. However, take you notice, that God is "great, and that this very man, whom you are going to absolve "and dismiss, for the sake of Hyrcanus, will one day punish both you and your king himself also." Nor did Semeas mistake in any part of this prediction; for when Herod had received the kingdom, he slew all the members of this sanhedrim, and Hyrcanus himself also, excepting Semeas, for he had a great honour for him on account of his righteousness, and because, when the city was afterwards besieged by Herod and Sosius, he persuaded the people to admit Herod into it; and told them, "That for their sins they would not be able to escape his "hands." Which things will be related by us in their proper places.

5. But when Hyrcanus saw that the members of the sanhedrim were ready to pronounce the sentence of death upon Herod, he put off the trial to another day, and sent privately to Herod, and advised him to fly out of the city, for that by this means he might escape. So he retired to Damascus, as though

* This account, as Reland observes, is confirmed by the Talmudists, who call this Semeas, *Simeon the son of Shetach*.

he fled from the king: and when he had been with Sextus Cæsar, and had put his own affairs in a sure posture, he resolved to do thus, that in case he were again summoned before the sanhedrim to take his trial, he would not obey that summons. Hereupon the members of the sanhedrim had great indignation at this posture of affairs, and endeavoured to persuade Hyrcanus that all these things were against him. Which state of matters he was not ignorant of, but his temper was so unmanly, and so foolish, that he was able to do nothing at all. But when Sextus had made Herod general of the army of Cœlesyria, for he sold him that post for money, Hyrcanus was in fear lest Herod should make war upon him: nor was the effect of what he feared long in coming upon him, for Herod came and brought an army along with him, to fight with Hyrcanus, as being angry at the trial he had been summoned to undergo before the sanhedrim, but his father Antipater, and his brother [Phasaelus], met him and hindered him from assaulting Jerusalem.—They also pacified his vehement temper, and persuaded him to do no overt action, but only to affright them with threatenings, and to proceed no farther against one who had given him the dignity he had: they also desired him not only to be angry that he was summoned, and obliged to come to his trial, but to remember withal, how he was dismissed without condemnation, and how he ought to give Hyrcanus thanks for the same, and that he was not to regard only what was disagreeable to him, and be unthankful for his deliverance. So they desired him to consider, that since it is God that turns the scales of war, there is great uncertainty in the issues of battles, and that therefore he ought not to expect the victory, when he should fight with his king, and him that had supported him, and bestowed many benefits upon him, and had done nothing itself very severe to him; for that his accusation, which was derived from evil counsellors, and not from himself, had rather the suspicion of some severity, than any thing really severe in it. Herod was persuaded by these arguments, and believed that it was sufficient for his future hopes to have made a shew of his strength before the nation; and done no more to it: And in this state were the affairs of Judea at this time.

CHAP. X.

The honours that were paid the Jews; and the leagues that were made by the Romans, and other nations, with them.

§ 1. Now when Cæsar was come to Rome, he was ready to sail into Africa to fight against Scipio and Cato, when Hyrcanus sent ambassadors to him, and by them desired that he

would ratify that league of friendship and mutual alliance which was between them. And it seems to me to be necessary here to give an account of all the honours that the Romans and their emperors paid to our nation, and of the leagues of mutual assistance they have made with it, that all the rest of mankind may know what regard the kings of Asia and Europe have had to us, and that they have been abundantly satisfied of our courage and fidelity; for, whereas many will not believe what hath been written about us by the Persians and Macedonians, because those writings are not every where to be met with, nor do lie in public places, but among us ourselves, and certain other barbarous nations, while there is no contradiction to be made against the decrees of the Romans, for they are laid up in the public places of the cities, and are extant still in the capitol, and engraven upon pillars of brass; nay, besides this, Julius Cæsar made a pillar of brass for the Jews at Alexandria, and declared publicly that they were citizens of Alexandria. Out of these evidences will I demonstrate what I say; and will now set down the decrees made both by the senate, and by Julius Cæsar, which relate to Hyrcanus, and to our nation.

2. " Caius Julius Cæsar, imperator and high priest, and dicta-" tor the second time, to the magistrates, senate and people of " Sidon, sendeth greeting: if you be in health, it is well. I also " and the army are well. I have sent you a copy of that de-" cree, registered on the tables, which concerns Hyrcanus, the " son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, " that it may be laid up among the public records; and I will " that it be openly proposed in a table of brass, both in Greek, " and in Latin: It is as follows: I Julius Cæsar, imperator the " second time, and high priest, have made this decree, with the " approbation of the senate: Whereas Hyrcanus, the son of A-" lexander the Jew, hath demonstrated his fidelity and diligence " about our affairs, and this both now and in former times, both " in peace and in war, as many of our generals have borne wit-" ness, and came to our assistance in the last * Alexandrian war " with fifteen hundred soldiers; and when he was sent by me to " Mithridates, shewed himself superior in valour to all the rest " of that army: for these reasons I will, that Hyrcanus the " son of Alexander, and his children, be ethnarchs of the Jews, " and have the high priesthood of the Jews for ever, according " to the customs of their forefathers, and that he and his sons " be our confederates, and that besides this, every one of them " be reckoned among our particular friends. I also ordain,

* That Hyrcanus was himself in Egypt, along with Antipater, at this time, to whom accordingly the bold and prudent actions of his deputy Antipater are here ascribed, as this decree of Julius Cæsar supposes, we are farther assured by the testimony of Strabo, already produced by Josephus, chap. viii. sect. 2.

"that he and his children retain whatsoever privileges belong to "the office of high priest, or whatsoever favours have been "hitherto granted them. And if at any time hereafter there "arise any questions about the Jewish customs, I will that he "determine the same. And I think it not proper that they "should be obliged to find us winter quarters, or that any "money should be required of them."

3. "The decrees of Caius Cæsar, consul, containing what hath "been granted and determined, are as follows: That Hyrcanus "and his children bear rule over the nation of the Jews, and "have the profits of the places to them bequeathed: and that he "as himself the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, defend "those that are injured. And that ambassadors, be sent to Hyr-"canus the son of Alexander, the high priest of the Jews, that "may discourse with him about a league of friendship and "mutual assistance, and that a table of brass, containing the "premises, be openly proposed in the capitol, and at Sidon and "Tyre, and Askelon, and in the temple, engraven in Roman "and Greek letters: that this decree may also be communica-"ted to the questors and pretors of the several cities, and to the "friends of the Jews: and that the ambassadors may have pre-"sents made them, that these decrees be sent every where."

4. "Caius Cæsar, imperator, dictator, consul, hath granted, "That out of regard to the honour and virtue, and kindness of "the man; and for the advantage of the senate, and of the people "of Rome, Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, both he and his "children, be high priests and priests of Jerusalem, and of the "Jewish nation, by the same right, and according to the same "laws, by which their progenitors have held the priesthood."

5. "Caius Cæsar, consul the fifth time, hath decreed, That "the Jews shall possess Jerusalem, and may encompass that "city with walls; and that Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, "the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, retain in the man-"ner he himself pleases; and that the Jews be allowed to de-"duct out of their tribute every second year the land in let [in "the sabbatic period] a corous of that tribute, and that the tri-"bute they pay be not let to farm, nor that they pay always "the same tribute."

6. "Caius Cæsar, imperator the second time, hath ordained, "That all the country of the Jews, excepting Joppa, do pay a tri-"bute yearly for the city Jerusalem, excepting the seventh; "which they call the Sabbatical year, because thereon they nei-"ther receive the fruits of their trees, nor do they sow their "land; and that they pay their tribute in Sidon on the second "year [of that Sabbatical period], the fourth part of what was "sown: and besides this, they are to pay the same tithes to

"Hyrcanus and his sons, which they paid to their forefathers. "And that no one, neither president, nor lieutenant, nor ambas-"sador, raise auxiliaries within the bounds of Judea, nor my "soldiers exact money of them for winter quarters, or under "any other pretence, but that they be free from all sorts of "injuries: and that whatsoever they shall hereafter have, and "are in possession of, or have bought, they shall retain them all. "It is also our pleasure, that the city Joppa, which the Jews "had originally, when they made a league of friendship with "the Romans, shall belong to them, as it formerly did, and that "Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, and his sons have as tribute "of that city from those that occupy the land for the country, "and for what they export every year to Sidon, twenty thou-"sand, six hundred, and seventy-five modii every year, the se-"venth year, which they call the sabbatic year, excepted, where-"on they neither plough nor receive the product of their trees. "It is also the pleasure of the senate, that as to the villages "which are in the great plain, which Hyrcanus and his forefa-"thers formerly possessed, Hyrcanus and the Jews have them "with the same privileges with which they formerly had them "also, and that the same original ordinances remain still in force, "which concern the Jews, with regard to their high priests; "and that they enjoy the same benefits which they have had "formerly by the concession of the people, and of the senate; "and let them enjoy the like privileges in Lydda. It is the plea-"sure also of the senate, that Hyrcanus the ethnarch, and the "Jews, retain those places, countries and villages, which be-"longed to the kings of Syria and Phenicia, the confederates of "the Romans, and which they had bestowed on them as their "free gifts. It is also granted to Hyrcanus, and to his sons, "and to the ambassadors by them sent to us, that in the fights "between single gladiators, and in those with beasts, they shall "sit among the senators to see those shows, and that when they "desire an audience, they shall be introduced into the senate by "the dictator, or by the general of the horse; and when they "have introduced them, their answers shall be returned them "in ten days at the farthest, after the decree of the senate is "made about their affairs."

7. "Caius Cæsar, imperator, dictator the fourth time, and "consul the fifth time, declared to be perpetual dictator, made "this speech concerning the rights and privileges of Hyrcanus "the son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the "Jews. Since those * imperators that have been in the provinces

* Dr. Hudson justly supposes, that the Roman imperators, or generals of armies, meant both here, and sect. 2. who gave testimony to Hyrcanus's and the Jews' faithfulness and good will to the Romans before the senate and people of Rome,

"before me have borne witness to Hyrcanus, the high priest "of the Jews, and to the Jews themselves, and this before the "senate and people of Rome, when the people and senate re- "turned their thanks to them, it is good that we now also re- "member the same, and provide that a requittal be made to "Hyrcanus, to the nation of the Jews, and to the sons of Hyr- "canus, by the senate and people of Rome, and that suitably "to what good will they have shewn us, and to the benefits "they have bestowed upon us."

8. "Julius Caius, pretor [consul] of Rome, to the magistrates, "senate, and people of the Parians, sendeth greeting. The Jews "of Delos, and some other Jews that sojourn there, in the pre- "sence of your ambassadors, signified to us, that by a decree of "yours, you forbid them to make use of the customs of their "forefathers, and their way of sacred worship. Now it does "not please me, that such decrees should be made against our "friends and confederates, whereby they are forbidden to live "according to their own customs, or to bring in contributions, "for common suppers, and holy festivals, while they are not "forbidden so to do even at Rome itself; for even Caius Cæsar, "our imperator, and consul, in that decree wherein he forbade the "Bacchanal rioters to meet in the city, did yet permit these "Jews, and these only, both to bring in their contributions, "and to make their common suppers. Accordingly, when I "forbid other Bacchanal rioters, I permit these Jews to gather "themselves together, according to the customs and laws of "their forefathers, and to persist therein. It will be therefore "good for you, that if you have made any decree against "these our friends and confederates, to abrogate the same, by "reason of their virtue, and kind disposition toward us."

9. Now after Caius was slain, when Marcus Antonius, and Publius Dolabella, were consuls, they both assembled the senate and introduced Hyrcanus's ambassadors into it, and discoursed of what they desired, and made a league of friendship with them. The senate also decreed, to grant them all they desired. I add the decree itself, that those who read the present work, may have ready by them a demonstration of the truth of what we say: the decree was this:

10. "The decree of the senate, copied out of the treasury, "from the public tables belonging to the questors, when Quin- "tus Rutilius and Caius Cornelius were questors, and taken "out of the second table of the first class, on the third day, "before the ides of April, in the temple of Concord. There

were principally, Pompey Scaurus, and Gabinius; of all whom Josephus had already given us the history, so far as the Jews were concerned with them.

"were present at the writing of this decree, Lucius Culpurnius "Piso of the Menenian tribe, Servius Papinias Potitus of the "Lemonian tribe, Caius Caninius Rebilius of the Terentine "tribe, Publius Tidetius, Lucius Apulinus, the son of Lucius, "of the Sergian tribe. Flavius, the son of Lucius, of the Lemo-"nian tribe, Publius Platius, the son of Publius, of the Papyrian "tribe, Marcus Acilius, the son of Marcus, of the Mecian tribe, "Lucius Erucius, the son of Lucius, of the Stellatine tribe, "Marcus Quintius Plancillus, the son of Marcus, of the Pol-"lian tribe, and Publius Serius. Publius Dolabella, and Mar-"cus Antonius, the consuls, made this reference to the senate, "that as to those things which by the decree of the senate, "Caius Cæsar had adjudged about the Jews, and yet had not hi-"therto that decree brought into the treasury, it is our will, as "it is also the desire of Publius Dolabella, and Marcus Antonius, "our consuls, to have these decrees put into the public tables, and "brought to the city questors, that they may take care to have "them put upon the double tables. This was done before the "fifth of the ides of February, in the temple of Concord. Now "the ambassadors from Hyrcanus the high priest were these, "Lysimachus the son of Pausanius, Alexander the son of The-"odorus, Patroculus the son of Cheras, and Jonathan the son "of Onias."

11. Hyrcanus sent also one of these ambassadors to Dolabella, who was then the prefect of Asia, and desired him to dismiss the Jews from military services, and to preserve to them the customs of their forefathers, and to permit them to live according to them. And when Dolabella had received Hyrcanus's letter, without any farther deliberation, he sent an epistle to all the Asiatics, and particularly to the city of the Ephesians, the metropolis of Asia, about the Jews, a copy of which epistle here follows:

12. "When Artemon was prytanis, on the first day of the "month Leneon, Dolabella imperator, to the senate, and magi-"strates, and people of the Ephesians, sendeth greeting: Alex-"ander, the son of Theodorus, the ambassador of Hyrcanus, "the son of Alexander the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, "appeared before me, to shew that his countrymen could not "go into their armies, because they are not allowed to bear "arms, or to travel on the Sabbath days, nor there to procure "themselves those sorts of food which they have been used to "eat from the times of their forefathers; I do therefore grant "them a freedom, from going into the army, as the former pre-"fects have done, and permit them to use the customs of their "forefathers, in assembling together for sacred and religious "purposes, as their law requires, and for collecting oblations

" necessary for sacrifices: and my will is, that you write this to " the several cities under your jurisdiction."

13. And these were the concessions that Dolabella made to our nation when Hyrcanus sent an embassage to him. But Lucius the consul's decree ran thus: " I have at my tribunal set these " Jews, who are citizens of Rome, and follow the Jewish reli- " gious rites, and yet live at Ephesus, free from going into the " army, on account of the superstition they are under. This " was done before the twelfth of the calends of October, when " Lucius Lentullus, and Caius Marcellus, were consuls, of the " presence of Titus Appius Balgus, the son of Titus, and lieute- " nant of the Horatian tribe, of Titus Tongius, the son of Titus " of the Crustamine tribe, of Quintus Resius, the son of Quin- " tus, of Titus Pompius Longinus, the son of Titus, of Caius " Servillius, the son of Caius of the Terentine tribe, of Bracchus " the military tribune, of Publius Lucius Gallus, the son of Pub- " lius of the Veturian tribe of Caius Sentius, the son of Caius " of the Sabbatine tribe, of Titus Attilius Bulbus, the son of " Titus, lieutenant and vice prætor, to the magistrates, senate, " and people of the Ephesians, sendeth greeting: Lucius Lentul- " lus the consul freed the Jews that are in Asia from going into " the armies at my intercession for them. And when I had " made the same petition sometime afterward to Phanius the " imperator, and to Lucius Antonius the vice questor, I obtain- " ed that privilege of them also; and my will is, that you take " care that no one give them any disturbance."

14. The decree of the Delians. " The answer of the prætors, " when Beotus was archon, on the twentieth day of the month " Thargeleon, while Marcus Piso the lieutenant lived in our " city, who was also appointed over the choice of the soldiers, " he called us, and many other of the citizens, and gave order, " that if there be here any Jews, who are Roman citizens, no " one is to give them any disturbance about going into the ar- " my, because Cornelius Lentullus, the consul, freed the Jews, " from going into the army, on account of the superstition " they are under; you are therefore obliged to submit to the " prætor" And the like decree was made by the Sardians a- bout us also.

15. " Caius Phanius, the son of Caius, imperator and consul, " to the magistrates of Cos, sendeth greeting: I would have you " know that the ambassadors of the Jews have been with me, " and desired they might have those decrees which the senate " had made about them; which decrees are here subjoined. My " will is, that you have a regard to, and take care of these men, " according to the senate's decree, that they may be safely, con- " veyed home through your country,"

16. The declaration of Lucius Lentullus the consul: "I have "dismissed those Jews who are Roman citizens, and who ap-"pear to me to have their religious rites, and to observe the "laws of the Jews at Ephesus, on account of the superstition "they are under, This act was done before the thirteenth of "the calends of October."

17. "Lucius Antonius, the son of Marcus, vice questor, and "vice prætor, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the "Sardians, sendeth greeting: those Jews that are our fellow "citizens of Rome, came to me, and demonstrated that they "had an assembly of their own, according to the laws of their "forefathers, and this from the beginning, as also a place of "their own, wherein they determined their suits and controver-"sies with one another: Upon their petition therefore to me, "that these might be lawful for them, I gave order that these "their privileges be preserved, and they be permitted to do ac-"cordingly."

18. The declaration of Marcus Publius, the son of Spurius, and of Marcus the son of Marcus, and of Lucius the son of Publius: "We went to the proconsul, and informed him of what "Dositheus, the son of Cleopatrida of Alexandria desired, that, "if he thought good, he would dismiss those Jews who were "Roman citizens, and were wont to observe the rites of the "Jewish religion, on account of the superstition they were un-"der. Accordingly, he did dismiss them. This was done be-"fore the thirteenth of the calends of October."

19. "In the month Quintilis, when Lucius Lentullus and "Caius Marcellus were consuls; and there were present Titus "Appius Balbus, the son of Titus, lieutenant of the Horatian "tribe. Titus Tongius of the Crustamine tribe, Quintus "Resius the son of Quintus, Titus Pompeius the son of Titus "Cornelius Longinus, Caius Servilius Bracchus, the son of "Caius a military tribune, of the Terentine tribe, Publius "Clusius Gallus, the son of Publius, of the Veturian tribe, "Caius Teutius the son of Caius, a military tribune, of the "Emilian tribe, Sextus Atilius Serranus, the son of Sextus, of "the Esquiline tribe, Caius Pompeius, the son of Caius, of the "Sabbatine tribe, Titus Appius Menander, the son of Titus, "Publius Servilius Strabo, the son of Publius, Lucius Paccius "Capito, the son of Lucius, of the Colline tribe. Aulus Fu-"rius Tertius, the son of Aulus, and Appius Menas. In the "presence of these it was that Lentullus pronounced this decree: "I have before the tribunal dismissed those Jews that are Ro-"man citizens, and are accustomed to observe the sacred rites "of the Jews at Ephesus, on account of the superstition they "are under."

20. "The magistrates of the Laodiceans to Caius Rubilius, "the son of Caius, the consul, sendeth greeting: Sopater the "ambassador of Hyrcanus, the high priest, hath delivered us an "epistle from thee, whereby he lets us know, that certain am- "bassadors were come from Hyrcanus, the high priest of the "Jews, and brought an epistle written concerning their nation, "wherein they desire that the Jews may be allowed to observe "their Sabbaths, and other sacred rites, according to the laws "of their forefathers, and that they may be under no command, "because they are our friends and confederates, and that nobo- "dy may injure them in our provinces. Now although the "Trallians there present contradicted them, and were not plea- "sed with these decrees, yet didst thou give order that they "should be observed, and informedst us that thou hadst been "desired to write this to us about them. We therefore, in obe- "dience to the injunctions we have received from thee, have "received the epistle which thou sentest us, and have laid it "up by itself among our public records. And as to the other "things about which thou didst send to us, we will take care "that no complaint be made against us."

21. "Publius Servillius, the son of Publius, of the Galban "tribe, the proconsul to the magistrates' senate, and people of "the Milesians, sendeth greeting: Prytanes the son of Hermes, "a citizen of yours, came to me when I was at Tralles, and "held a court there, and informed me that you used the Jews "in a way different from my opinion, and forbade them to ce- "lebrate their Sabbaths, and to perform the sacred rites re- "ceived from their forefathers, and to manage the fruits of the "land, according to their ancient custom, and that he had him- "self been the promulger of your decree, according as your "laws require: I would therefore have you know, that upon "hearing the pleadings on both sides, I gave sentence that the "Jews should not be prohibited to make use of their own cus- "toms."

22. The decree of those of Pergamus. When Cratippus was prytanis, on the first day of the month Desius, the decree of the prætors was this: "Since the Romans, following the conduct of "their ancestors, undertake dangers for the common safety of "all mankind, and are ambitious to settle their confederates and "friends in happiness, and in firm peace; and since the nation "of the Jews, and their high priest Hyrcanus, sent as ambas- "sadors to them, Strato, the son of Theodatus, and Apollonius, "the son of Alexander, and Eneas, the son of Antipater, and "Aristobulus, the son of Amyntus, and Sosipater, the son of "Philip, worthy and good men, who gave a particular account "of their affairs, the senate thereupon made a decree about what

"they had desired of them, that Antiochus the king, the son "of Antiochus, should do no injury to the Jews, the confederates of the Romans; and that the fortresses, and the havens, "and the country, and whatsoever else he had taken from them "should be restored to them; and that it may be lawful for "them to export their goods out of their own havens; and that "no king nor people may have leave to export any goods, either out of the country of Judea, or out of their havens, without paying customs, but only Ptolemy the king of Alexandria, because he is our confederate and friend; and that according to their desire, the garrison that is in Joppa may be "ejected. Now Lucius Petius, one of our senators, a worthy "and good man, gave order that we should take care that these "things should be done according to the senate's decree; and "that we should take care also that their ambassadors might "return home in safety. Accordingly, we admitted Theodorus "into our senate and assembly, and took the epistle out of his "hands, as well as the decree of the senate; And as he discoursed with great zeal about the Jews, and described Hyrcanus's virtue and generosity, and how he was a benefactor "to all men in common, and particularly to every body that "comes to him, we laid up the epistle in our public records; "and made a decree ourselves, that since we also are in confederacy with the Romans, we would do every thing we could "for the Jews, according to the senate's decree. Theodorus also, who brought the epistle, desired of our prætors, that they "would send Hyrcanus a copy of that decree, as also ambassaders to signify to him the affection of our people to him, and "to exhort them to preserve and augment their friendship for "us, and be ready to bestow other benefits upon us, as justly "expecting to receive proper requitals from us: and desiring "them to remember that our * ancestors were friendly to the "Jews even in the days of Abraham, who was the father of all

* We have here a most remarkable and authentic attestation of the citizens of Pergamus, that Abraham was the father of all the Hebrews; that their own ancestors were, in the oldest time, the friends of those Hebrews; and that the public acts of their city, then extant, confirmed the same; which evidence is too strong to be evaded by our present ignorance of the particular occasion of such ancient friendship and alliance between those people. See the like full evidence of the kindred of the Lacedemonians and the Jews; and that because they were both the posterity of Abraham, by a public epistle of those people to the Jews, preserved in the first book of Maccabees, xii. 19—23. and thence by Josephus, Antiq. B. XII. chap. iv. sect 10. both which authentic records are highly valuable. It is also well worthy of observation, what Moses Choronensis, the principal Armenian historian, informs us of, p. 83. that Arsaces, who raised the Parthian Empire, was of the seed of Abraham by Chetura, and that thereby was accomplished that prediction which said, "Kings of nations shall proceed from thee," Gen. xvii 6.

"the Hebrews, as we have [also] found it set down in our public records."

23 The decree of those of Helicarnasus. When Memnon the son of Oristidas by descent, but by adoption of Eunonymus, was priest, on the * * * day of the month Aristerion, the decree of the people, upon the representation of Marcus Alexander, was this: "Since we have ever a great regard to piety towards God, "and to holiness, and since we aim to follow the people of the "Romans who are the benefactors of all men, and what they "have written to us about a league of friendship and mutual "assistance between the Jews and our city, and that their sacred offices, and accustomed festivals and assemblies may be "observed by them, we have decreed, that as many men and "women of the Jews as are willing so to do, may celebrate their "Sabbaths, and perform their holy offices, according to the "Jewish laws: and may make their proseuchæ at the sea-side, "according to the customs of their forefathers; and if any one, "whether he be a magistrate or private person, hindereth them "from so doing, he shall be liable to a fine, to be applied to the "uses of the city."

24. The decree of the Sardians. This decree was made by the senate and people, upon the representation of the prætors; "Whereas those Jews, who are our fellow-citizens, and live "with us in this city, have ever had great benefits heaped upon "them by the people, and have come now into the senate, and "desired of the people that upon the restitution of their law "and their liberty, by the senate and people of Rome, they may "assemble together, according to their ancient legal custom, "and that we will not bring any suit against them about it; and "that a place may be given them where they may have their "congregations, with their wives and children and may offer, "as did their forefathers, their prayers and sacrifices to God; "now the senate and people have decreed to permit them to assemble together on the days formerly appointed, and to act "according to their own laws; and that such a place be set "apart for them by the prætors, for the building and inhabiting "the same, as they shall esteem fit for that purpose. And that "those that take care of the provisions for the city, shall take "care that such sorts of food as they esteem fit for their eating, "may be imported into the city."

25. The decree of the Ephesians. When Menophilus was prytanis, on the first day of the month Artemisius, this decree was made by the people: "Nicanor the son of Euphemius, pronounced it, upon the representation of the prætors. Since the "Jews that dwell in this city have petitioned Marcus Julius "Pompeius, the son of Brutus, the proconsul, that they might

" be allowed to observe their Sabbaths, and to act in all things " according to the customs of their forefathers, without impe- " diment from any body, the prætor hath granted their petition. " Accordingly, it was decreed by the senate and people, that in " this affair that concerned the Romans, no one of them should " be hindered from keeping the Sabbath day, nor be fined for " so doing, but that they may be allowed to do all things accord- " ing to their own laws."

26. Now there are * many such decrees of the senate and imperators of the Romans, and those different from these before us, which have been made in favour of Hyrcanus, and of our nation; as also, there have been more decrees of the cities, and rescripts of the prætors, to such epistles as concerned our rights and privileges: and certainly such as are not ill disposed to what we write, may believe that they are all to this purpose, and that by the specimens which we have inserted; for since we have produced evident marks that may still be seen, of the friendship we have had with the Romans, and demonstrated that those marks are engraven upon columns and tables of brass in the capitol, that are still in being, and preserved to this day, we have omitted to set them all down, as needless and disagreeable; for I cannot suppose any one so perverse as not to believe the friendship we have had with the Romans, while they have demonstrated the same by such a great number of their decrees relating to; nor will they doubt of our fidelity as to the rest of those decrees, since we have shewed the same in those we have produced. And thus have we sufficiently explained that friendship and confederacy we at those times had with the Romans.

CHAP. XI.

How † Marcus succeeded Sextus, when he had been slain by Bassus's treachery; and how, after the death of Cæsar, Cassius came into Syria, and distressed Judea; as also, how Molichus slew Antipater, and was himself slain by Herod.

1. Now it so fell out, that about this very time the affairs of Syria were in great disorder, and this on the occasion fol-

* If we compare Josephus's promise in sect. 1. to produce *all* the public decrees of the Romans in favour of the Jews with his excuse here for omitting *many* of them, we may observe, that when he came to transcribe all those decrees he had collected, he found them so numerous that he thought he should too much tire his readers if he had attempted it, which he thought a sufficient apology for his omitting the rest of them; yet do those by him produced afford such a strong confirmation to his history, and give such great light to even the Roman Antiquities themselves, that I believe the curious are not a little sorry for such his omission.

† For Marcus the president of Syria, sent as successor to Sextus Cæsar, the

lowing: Cecilius Bassus, one of Pompey's party, laid a treacherous design against Sextus Cæsar, and slew him, and then took his army, and got the managment of public affairs into his own hand; so there arose a great war about Apamia, while Cæsar's generals came against him with an army of horsemen and footmen: To these Antipater also sent succours, and his sons with them, as calling to mind the kindnesses they had received from Cæsar, and on that account he thought it but just to require punishment for him, and to take vengeance on the man that had murdered him. And as the war was drawn out into a great length, Marcus came from Rome to take Sextus's government upon him: But Cæsar was slain by Cassius and Brutus in the senate-house, after he had retained the government three years and six months. This fact, however, is related elsewhere.

2. As the war that arose upon the death of Cæsar was now begun, and the principal men were all gone, some one way, and some another, to raise armies, Cassius, came from Rome into Syria, in order to receive the [army that lay in the] camp at Apamia; and having raised the siege, he brought over both Bassus and Marcus to his party. He then went over the cities, and got together weapons and soldiers, and laid great taxes upon those cities; and he chiefly oppressed Judea, and exacted of it seven hundred talents: But Antipater, when he saw the state to be in so great consternation and disorder, he divided the collection of that sum, and appointed his two sons to gather it, and so that part of it was to be exacted by Malichus, who was ill-disposed to him, and part by others. And because Herod did exact what is required of him from Galilee before others, he was in the greatest favour with Cassius; for he thought it a part of prudence to cultivate a friendship with the Romans, and to gain their good-will at the expense of others; whereas the curators of the other cities, with their citizens, were sold for slaves; and Cassius reduced four cities into slavery, the two most potent of which were Gophna and Emmaus; and, besides these, Lydia, and Thamna. Nay, Cassius was so very angry at Malichus, that he had killed him, (for he assaulted him), had not Hyrcanus, by the means of Antipater, sent him an hundred talents of his own, and thereby pacified his anger against him.

3. But after Cassius was gone out of Judea, Malichus laid snares for Antipater, as thinking that his death would be the preservation of Hyrcanus's government; But his design was not unknown

Roman historians require us to read *Marcus* in Josephus, and this perpetually, both in these Antiquities, and in the history of the Wars, as the learned generally agree.

to Antipater, which when he perceived, he retired beyond Jordan, and got together an army, partly of Arabs, and partly of his own countrymen. However Malichus being one of great cunning, denied that he had laid any snares for him, and made his defence with an oath, both to himself and his sons; and said, that while Phasælus had a garrison in Jerusalem, and Herod had the weapons of war in his custody, he could never have a thought of any such thing. So Antipater, perceiving the distress that Malichus was in, was reconciled to him, and made an agreement with him; this was when Marcus was president of Syria; who yet perceiving that this Malichus was making a disturbance in Judea, proceeded so far that he had almost killed him, but still at the intercession of Antipater he saved him.

4. However, Antipater little thought that by saving Malichus, he had saved his own murderer: for now Cassius and Marcus had got together an army, and instrusted the entire care of it with herod, and made him general of the forces of Cœlesyria, and gave him a fleet of ships, and an army of horsemen and footmen; and promised him, that after the war was over they would make him king of Judea, for a war was already begun between Antony and the younger Cæsar; But as Malichus was most afraid of Antipater, he took him out of the way; and by the offer of money, persuaded the butler of Hyrcanus, with whom they were both to feast, to kill him by poison. This being done, and he having armed men with him, settled the affairs of the city. But when Antipater's sons, Herod and Phasælus, were acquainted with this conspiracy against their father, and had indignation at it, Malichus denied all, and utterly renounced any knowledge of the murder. And thus died Antipater, a man that had distinguished himself for piety and justice, and love to his country. And whereas one of his sons, Herod, resolved immediately to revenge their father's death, and was coming upon Malichus with an army for that purpose, the elder of his sons, Phasaelus, thought it best rather to get this man into their hands by policy, lest they should appear to begin a civil war in the country; so he accepted of Malichus's defence for himself, and pretended to believe him that he had no hand in the violent death of Antipater his father, but erected a fine monument for him. Herod also went to Samaria, and when he found them in great distress, he revived their spirits, and composed their differences.

5. However, a little after this, Herod, upon the approach of a festival, came with his soldiers into the city; whereupon Malichus was affrighted, and persuaded Hyrcanus not to permit him to come into the city. Hyrcanus complied; and, for a pretence of excluding him, alleged, that a rout of strangers

ought not to be admitted, when the multitude were purifying themselves. But Herod had little regard to the messengers, that were sent to him, and entered the city in the night time, and affrighted Malichus, yet did he remit nothing of his former dissimulation, but wept for Antipater, and bewailed him as a friend of his with a loud voice: But Herod and his friends thought it proper, not openly to contradict Malichus's hypocrisy, but to give him tokens of mutual friendship, in order to prevent his suspicion of them.

6. However, Herod sent to Cassius, and informed him of the murder of his father; who knowing what sort of man Malichus was as to his morals, sent him back word, that he should revenge his father's death; and also sent privately, to the commanders of his army at Tyre, with orders to assist Herod in the execution of a very just design of his. Now when Cassius had taken Laodicea, they all went together to him, and carried him garlands and money; and Herod thought that Malichus might be punished while he was there; but he was somewhat apprehensive of the thing, and designed to make some great attempt, and because his son was then an hostage at Tyre, he went to that city, and resolved to steal him away privately, and to march thence into Judea; and as Cassius was in haste to march against Antony, he thought to bring the country to revolt, and to procure the government for himself. But providence opposed his counsels; and Herod being a shrewd man, and perceiving what his intention was, he sent thither before-hand a servant, in appearance indeed to get a supper ready, for he had said before, that he would feast them all there, but in reality to the commanders of the army, whom he persuaded to go out against Malichus, with their daggers. So they went out and met the man near the city, upon the sea-shore, and stabbed him. Whereupon Hyrcanus was so astonished at what had happened, that his speech failed him; and when, after some difficulty, he had recovered himself, he asked Herod, what the matter could be, and who it was that slew Malichus? and when he said that it was done by the command of Cassius, he commended the action; for that Malichus was a very wicked man, and one that conspired against his own country. And this was the punishment that was afflicted on Malichus for what he wickedly did to Antipater.

7. But when Cassius was marched out of Syria, disturbances arose in Judea: For Felix, who was left at Jerusalem with an army, made a sudden attempt against Phasaelus, and the people themselves rose in arms; but Herod went to Fabius, the prefect of Damascus, and was desired to run to his brother's assistance, but was hindered by a distemper that seized upon him, till Phasaelus by himself had been too hard for Felix, and had shut him

up in the tower, and there, on certain conditions, dismissed him. Phasaelus also complained of Hyrcanus, that although he had received a great many benefits from them; yet did he support their enemies; for Malichus's brother made many places to revolt, and kept garrisons in them, and particularly Masada, the strongest fortress of them all. In the mean time Herod was recovered of his disease, and came and took from Felix all the places he had gotten; and upon certain conditions, dismissed him also.

CHAP. XII.

Herod ejects Antigonus, the Son of Aristobulus, out of Judea, and gains the friendship of Antony, who was now come into Syria, by sending him much money; on which account he would not admit of those that would have accused Herod; and what it was that Antony wrote to the Tyrians in behalf of the Jews.

§ 1. Now * Ptolemy the son of Menneus, brought back into Judea, Antigonus the son of Aristobulus, who had already raised an army, and had, by money, made Fabius to be his friend, and this because he was of kin to him. Marion also gave him assistance. He had been left by Cassius to tyrannize over Tyre, for this Cassius was a man that seized on Syria, and then kept it under in the way of a tyrant. Marion also marched into Galilee, which lay in his neighbourhood, and took three of his fortresses, and put garrisons into them to keep them. But when Herod came, he took all from him; but the Tyrian garrison he dismissed in a very civil manner; nay, to some of the soldiers he made presents out of the good-will he bare to that city. When he had dispatched these affairs, and was gone to meet Antigonus, he joined battle with them, and beat him, and drove him out of Judea presently, when he was just come into its borders. But when he was come to Jerusalem, Hyrcanus and the people put garlands about his head; for he had already contracted an affinity with the family of Hyrcanus by having espoused a descendant of his, and for that reason Herod took the greater care of him,

* In this and the following chapters the reader will easily remark, how truly Gronovius observes, in his notes on the Roman decrees in favour of the Jews, that their rights and privileges were commonly purchased of the Romans with money. Many examples of this sort, both as to the Romans, and others in authority, will occur in our Josephus, both now and hereafter, and need not be taken particular notice of on the several occasions in these notes. Accordingly, the chief captain confesses to St. Paul, that "with a great sum he had obtained his freedom," Acts xxii. 28. as had Paul's ancestors, very probably, purchased the like freedom for their family by money, as the same author justly concludes also.

as being to marry the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, and the grand daughter of Hyrcanus, by which wife he became the father of three male, and two female children. He had also married before this another wife, out of a lower family of his own nation, whose name was Doris, by whom he had his eldest son Antipater.

2. Now Antonius and Cæsar had beaten Cassius near Philippi, as others have related; but after the victory, Cæsar went into Gaul, [Italy] and Antony marched for Asia, who, when he was arrived at Bythinia, he had ambassadors that met him from all parts. The principal men also of the Jews came thither, to accuse Phasaelus, and Herod, and they said, that Hyrcanus had indeed the appearance of reigning, but that these men had all the power, but Antony paid great respect to Herod, who was come to him to make his defence against his accusers, on which account his adversaries could not so much as obtain an hearing; which favour Herod had gained of Antony by money. But still, when Antony was come to Ephesus, Hyrcanus the high priest, and our nation, sent an embassage to him which carried a crown of gold with them, and desired that he would write to the governors of the provinces, to set those Jews free who had been carried captive by Cassius, and this without their having fought against him, and to restore them that country, which, in the days of Cassius, had been taken from them. Antony thought the Jews' desires were just, and wrote immediately to Hyrcanus, and to the Jews. He also sent, at the same time, a decree to the Tyrians; the contents of which were to the same purpose.

3. " Marcus Antonius imperator, to Hyrcanus the high priest " and ethnarch of the Jews, sendeth greeting; If you be in " health, it is well; I also am in health, with the army. Ly- " simachus, the son of Pausanius, and Josephus the son of Men- " neus, and Alexander the son of Theodorus, your ambassadors, " met me at Ephesus, and have renewed that embassage which " they had formerly been upon at Rome, and have diligently ac- " quitted themselves of the present embassage, which thou and " thy nation have intrusted to them, and have fully declared " the good-will thou hast for us. I am therefore satisfied, both " by your actions and your words, that you are well disposed " to us; and I understand that your conduct of life is constant " and religious: so I reckon upon you as our own: But when " those that were adversaries to you, and to the Roman people, " and abstained neither from cities nor temples, and did not ob- " serve the agreement they had confirmed by oath, it was not " only on account of our contest with them, but on account of " all mankind in common, that we have taken vengeance on " those who have been the authors of great injustice towards men,

" and of great wickedness towards the gods; for the sake of which " we suppose it was that the * sun turned away his light from us, " as unwilling to view the horrid crime they were guilty of in " the case of Cæsar. We have also overcome their conspiracies, " which threatened the gods themselves, which Macedonia re- " ceived, as it is a climate peculiarly proper for impious and in- " solent attempts: and we have overcome that confu-ed rout of " men, half mad with spite against us, which they got together " at Philippi in Macedonia, when they seized on the places that " were proper for their purpose, and as it were, walled them " round with mountains to the very sea, and where the passage " was open only through a single gate. This victory we gained " because the gods had condemned these men for their wicked " enterprizes. Now Brutus, when he had fled as far as Philip- " pi, was shut up by us, and became a partaker of the same per- " dition with Cassius; and now, these have received their pun- " ishment, we suppose, that we may enjoy peace for the time to " come, and that Asia may be at rest from war. We therefore " make that peace which God hath given us common to our con- " federates also, insomuch, that the body of Asia is now recover- " ed out of that distemper it was under by the means of our " victory. I, therefore, bearing in mind both thee and your " nation, shall take care of what may be for your advantage. I " have also sent epistles in writing to the several cities, that if " any persons, whether freemen or bondmen, have been sold un- " der the spear by Caius Cassius, or his subordinate officers, " they may be set free. And I will that you kindly make use of " the favours which I and Dolabella have granted you. I also " forbid the Tyrians to use any violence with you; and for what " places of the Jews they now possess, I order them to restore " them, I have withal accepted of the crown which thou sentest " me."

4. " Marcus Antonius, imperator to the magistrates, senate, " and people of Tyre, sendeth greeting: The ambassadors of Hyr- " canus the high priest and ethnarch [of the Jews] appeared be- " fore me at Ephesus, and told me, that you are in possession of " part of their country, which you entered upon under the go- " vernment of our adversaries. Since, therefore, we have un- " dertaken a war for the obtaining the government, and have " taken care to do what was agreeable to piety and justice, and " have brought to punishment those that had neither any re- " membrance of the kindnesses they had received, nor have kept

* This clause plainly alludes to that well-known but unusual and very long darkness of the sun, which happened upon the murder of Julius Cæsar, by Brutus and Cassius, which is greatly taken notice of by Virgil, Pliny, and other Roman authors. See Virgil's Georgics, Book I. just before the end; and Pliny's Nat. Hist. B. II. ch. xxx.

"their oaths, I will that you be at peace with those that are our "confederates; as also, that what you have taken by the means of "our adversaries shall not be reckoned your own, but be returned to those from whom you took them; for none of them "took their provinces or their armies by the gift of the senate, "but they seized them by force, and bestowed them by violence "upon such as became useful to them in their unjust proceedings. Since, therefore, those men have received the punishment due to them, we desire that our confederates may retain "whatsoever it was that they formerly possessed without disturbance, and that you restore all the places which belong to "Hyrcanus the ethnarch of the Jews, which you have had, tho' "it were but one day before Caius Cassius began an unjustifiable war against us, and entered into our province; nor do you "use any force against him, in order to weaken him, that he "may not be able to dispose of that which is his own, but if you "have any contest with him about your respective rights, it "shall be lawful for you to plead your cause when we come "upon the places concerned, for we shall alike preserve the "rights and hear all the causes of our confederates."

5. "Marcus Antonius, imperator, to the magistrates, senate, "and people of Tyre, sendeth greeting: I have sent you my "decree, of which I will that ye take care that it be engraven "on the public tables, in Roman and Greek letters, and that it "stand engraven in the most illustrious places, that it may be "read by all." Marcus Antonius, imperator, one of the triumvirate over the public affairs, made this declaration: "Since "Caius Cassius, in this revolt he hath made, hath pillaged that "province which belonged not to him, and was held by garrisons there encamped, while they were our confederates, and "hath spoiled that nation of the Jews that was in friendship "with the Roman people, as in war; and since we have overcome his madness by arms, we now correct by our decrees "and judicial determinations what he hath laid waste, that those "things may be restored to our confederates. And as for what "hath been sold of the Jewish possessions, whether they be "bodies or possessions, let them be released, the bodies into "that state of freedom they were originally in, and the possessions to their former owners. I also will, that he who shall "not comply with this decree of mine, shall be punished for "his disobedience: and if such an one be caught, I will take "care that the offenders suffer condign punishment."

6. The same thing did Antony write to the Sidonians, and the Antiochians, and the Arabians. We have produced these decrees, therefore, as marks for futurity of the truth of what we have said, that the Romans had a great concern about our nation.

CHAP. XIII.

How Antony made Herod and Phasaelus tetrarchs, after they had been accused to no purpose; and how the Parthians, when they brought Antigonus into Judea, took Hyrcanus and Phasaelus captives. Herod's flight; and what afflictions Hyrcanus and Phasaelus endured.

§ 1. When after this Antony came into Syria, Cleopatra met him in Cilicia, and brought him to fall in love with her.—And there came now also an hundred of the most potent of the Jews to accuse Herod and those about him, and set the men of the greatest eloquence among them to speak. But Messala contradicted them, on behalf of the young men, and all this in the presence of Hyrcanus, who was * Herod's father-in-law already. When Antony had heard both sides at Daphne, he asked Hyrcanus who they were that governed the nation best? He replied, Herod and his friends, Hereupon Antony, by reason of the old hospitable friendship he had made with his father [Antipater], at that time when he was with Gabinius, he made both Herod and Phasaelus tetrarchs, and committed the public affairs of the Jews to them, and wrote letters to that purpose. He also bound fifteen of their adversaries, and was going to kill them, but that Herod obtained their pardon.

2. Yet did not these men continue quiet when they were come back, but a thousand of the Jews came to Tyre to meet him there, whither the report was that he would come. But Antony was corrupted by the money which Herod and his brother had given him, and so he gave order to the governor of the place to punish the Jewish ambassadors, who were for making innovations, and to settle the government upon Herod: But Herod went out hastily to them, and Hyrcanus was with him (for they stood upon the shore before the city), and he charged them to go their ways, because great mischief would befall them if they went on with their accusation. But they did not acquiesce; whereupon the Romans ran upon them with their daggers, and slew some, and wounded more of them, and the rest fled away and went home, and lay still in great consternation: And when the people made a clamour against Herod, Antony was so provoked at it that he slew the prisoners.

3. Now, in the second year, Pacorus, the king of Parthia's

* We may here take notice, that *espousals* alone were of old esteemed a sufficient foundation for *affinity*, Hyrcanus being here called *father-in-law* to Herod, because his grand-daughter Mariamne was betrothed to him, although the marriage were not completed till four years afterward. See Mat. i. 16.

son, and Barzapharnes, a commander of the Parthians, possessed themselves of Syria. Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, also was now dead, and Lysanias his son took his government, and made a league of friendship with Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus; and in order to obtain it, made use of that commander, who had great interest in him. Now Antigonus had promised to give the Parthians a thousand talents, and five hundred women, upon conditions they would take the government away from Hyrcanus, and bestow it upon him, and withal kill Herod. And although he did not give them what he had promised, yet did the Parthians make an expedition into Judea on that account, and carried Antigonus with them. Pacorus went along the maritime parts, but the commander Barzapharnes, through the midland. Now the Tyrians excluded Pacorus, but the Sidonians, and those of Ptolemais, received him. However, Pacorus sent a troop of horsemen into Judea, to take a view of the state of the country, and to assist Antigonus; and sent also the king's butler, of the same name with himself. So when the Jews that dwelt about mount Carmel came to Antigonus, and were ready to march with him into Judea, Antigonus hoped to get some part of the country by their assistance. The place is called Drymi; and when some others came and met them, the men privately fell upon Jerusalem; and when some more were come to them, they got together in great numbers, and came against the king's palace and besieged it. But as Phasaelus's and Herod's party came to the other's assistance, and a battle happened between them in the market-place, the young men beat their enemies, and pursued them into the temple, and sent some armed men into the adjoining houses, to keep them in, who yet being destitute of such as should support them, were burnt, and the houses with them, by the people who rose up against them. But Herod was revenged on these seditious adversaries of his a little afterward for this injury they had offered him, when he fought with them, and slew a great number of them.

4. But while there were daily skirmishes, the enemy waited for the coming of the multitude out of the country to Pentecost, a feast of ours so called: and when that day was come, many ten thousands of the people were gathered together about the temple, some in armour, and some without. Now those that came, guarded both the temple and the city, excepting what belonged to the palace, which Herod guarded with a few of his soldiers; and Phasaelus had the charge of the wall, while Herod, with a body of his men, sallied out upon the enemy, who lay in the suburbs, and fought courageously, and put many ten thousands to flight, some flying into the city, and some into the temple, and some into the outer fortifications, for some such

fortifications there were in that place. Phasaelus came also to his assistance; yet was Pacorus, the general of the Parthians, at the desire of Antigonus, admitted into the city, with a few of his horsemen, under pretence indeed as if he would still the sedition, but in reality to assist Antigonus in obtaining the government. And when Phasaelus, met him, and received him kindly, Pacorus persuaded him to go himself as ambassador to Barzapharnes, which was done fraudulently. Accordingly, Phasaelus, suspecting no harm, complied with his proposal, while Herod did not give his consent to what was done, because of the perfidiousness of these Barbarians, but desired Phasaelus rather to fight those that were come into the city.

5. So both Hyrcanus and Phasaelus went on the embassage; but Pacorus left with Herod two hundred horsemen, and ten men, who were called, *The freemen;* and conducted the others on their journey; and when they were in Galilee, the governors of the cities there met them in their arms. Barzapharnes also received them at the first with cheerfulness, and made them presents though he afterward conspired against them; and Phasaelus, with his horsemen, were conducted to the sea side: But when they heard that Antigonus had promised to give the Parthians a thousand talents, and five hundred women, to assist him against them, they soon had a suspicion of the Barbarians.—Moreover, there was one who informed them that snares were laid for them by night, while a guard came secretly, and they had then been seized upon, had not they waited for the seizure of Herod by the Parthians, that were about Jerusalem, lest, upon the slaughter of Hyrcanus and Phasaelus, he should have an intimation of it, and escape out of their hands. And these were the circumstances they were now in, and they saw who they were that guarded them. Some persons indeed would have persuaded Phasaelus to fly away immediately on horseback, and not stay any longer: and there was one Ophellius, who, above all the rest, was earnest with him to do so, for he had heard of this treachery from Saramalla, the richest of all the Syrians at that time, who also promised to provide him ships to carry him off; for the sea was just by them: But he had no mind to desert Hyrcanus, nor bring his brother into danger; but he went to Barzapharnes, and told him he did not act justly when he made such a contrivance against them, for that if he wanted money, he would give him more than Antigonus; and besides, that it was an horrible thing to slay those that came to him upon the security of their oaths, and that when they had done them no injury. But the Barbarian swore to him, that there was no truth in any of his suspicions, but that he was troubled with nothing but false proposals, and then went away to Pacorus.

6. But as soon as he was gone away, some men came and bound Hyrcanus and Phasaelus, while Phasaelus greatly reproached the Parthians for their perjury. However, that butler who was sent against Herod had it in command to get him without the walls of the city, and seize upon him; but messengers had been sent by Phasaelus to inform Herod of the perfidiousness of the Parthians: And when he knew that the enemy had seized upon them, he went to Pocorus, and to the most potent of the Parthians, as to the lords of the rest, who, although they knew the whole matter, dissembled with him in a deceitful way; and said, "That he ought to go out with them before "the walls, and meet those which were bringing him his letters, "for that they were not taken by his adversaries, but were "coming to give him an account of the good success Phasaelus "had had." Herod did not give credit to what they said; for he had heard that his brother was seized upon by others also: and the daughter of Hyrcanus, whose daughter he had espoused was his monitor also [not to credit them], which made him still more suspicious of the Parthians, for although other people did not give heed to her, yet did he believe her as a woman of very great wisdom.

7. Now while the Parthians were in consultation what was fit to be done; for they did not think it proper to make an open attempt upon a person of his character; and while they put off the determination to the next day, Herod was under great disturbance of mind; and rather inclining to believe the reports he heard about his brother and the Parthians, than to give heed to what was said on the other side, he determined, that when the evening came on, he would make use of it for his flight, and not make any longer delay, as if the dangers from the enemy were not yet certain. He therefore removed with the armed men whom he had with him; and set his wives upon the beasts, as also his mother, and sister, and her whom he was about to marry, [Mariamne] the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, with her mother the daughter of Hyrcanus, and his youngest brother, and all their servants, and the rest of the multitude that was with him, and without the enemies' privity pursued his way to Idumea: Nor could any enemy of his, who then saw him in this case, be so hard hearted, but would have commiserated his fortune, while the women drew along their infant children, and left their own country, and their friends in prison, with tears in their eyes, and sad lamentations, and in expectation of nothing but what was of a melancholy nature.

8. But for Herod himself, he raised his mind above the miserable state he was in, and was of good courage in the midst of his misfortunes; and, as he passed along, he bid them every one

be of good cheer, and not to give themselves up to sorrow, because that would hinder them in their flight, which was now the only hope of safety that they had. Accordingly, they tried to bear with patience the calamity they were under, as he exhorted them to do; yet was he once almost going to kill himself, upon the overthrow of a waggon, and the danger his mother was then in of being killed, and this on two accounts, because of his great concern for her, and because he was afraid lest, by this delay, the enemy should overtake him in the pursuit; but as he was drawing his sword, and going to kill himself therewith, those that were present restrained him, and being so many in number, were two hard for him: and told him that he ought not to desert them, and leave them a prey to their enemies, for that it was not the part of a brave man to free himself from the distresses he was in, and to overlook his friends that were in the same distresses also. So he was compelled to let that horrid attempt alone, partly out of shame at what they said to him, and partly out of regard to the great number of those that would not permit him to do what he intended. So he encouraged his mother, and took all the care of her the time would allow, and proceeded on the way he proposed to go with the utmost haste, and that was to the fortress of Massada. And as he had many skirmishes with such of the Parthians as attacked him, and pursued him, he was conqueror in them all.

9. Nor indeed was he free from the Jews all along as he was in his flight; for by that time he was gotten sixty furlongs out of the city, and was upon the road, they fell upon him, and fought hand to hand with him, whom he also put to flight, and overcame, not like one that was in distress and in necessity, but like one that was excellently prepared for war, and had what he wanted in great plenty. And in this very place where he overcame the Jews, it was that he sometime afterward built a most excellent palace, and a city round about it, and called it *Herodium*. And when he was come to Idumea, at a place called *Thressa*, his brother Joseph met him, and he then held a council to take advice about all his affairs, and what was fit to be done in his circumstances, since he had a great multitude that followed him, besides his mercenary soldiers, and the place Massada, whither he proposed to fly, was too small to contain so great a multitude; so he sent away the greater part of his company, being above nine thousand, and bid them go some one way, and some another, and to save themselves in Idumea, and gave them what would buy them provisions in their journey; but he took with him those that were the least incumbered, and were most intimate with him, and came to the fortress, and placed there his wives, and his followers, being

eight hundred in number, there being in the place a sufficient quantity of corn and water, and other necessaries, and went directly for Petra, in Arabia. But when it was day, the Parthians plundered all Jerusalem, and the palace, and abstained from nothing but Hyrcanus's money, which was three hundred talents. A great deal of Herod's money escaped, and principally all that the man had been so provident as to send into Idumea before-hand: nor indeed did what was in the city suffice the Parthians, but they went out into the country, and plundered it, and demolished the city Marissa.

10. And thus was Antigonus brought back into Judea, by the king of the Parthians, and received Hyrcanus and Phasaelus for his prisoners; but he was greatly cast down because the women had escaped, whom he intended to have given the enemy, as having promised they should have them, with the money, for their reward: But being afraid that Hyrcanus, who was under the guard of the Parthians, might have his kingdom restored to him by the multitude, he cut off his ears, and thereby took care that the high-priesthood should never come to him any more, because he was maimed, while the * law required that this dignity should belong to none but such as had all their members entire. But now one cannot but here admire the fortitude of Phasaelus, who, perceiving that he was to be put to death, did not think death any terrible thing at all, but to die thus by the means of his enemy, this he thought a most pitiable and dishonourable thing, and therefore, since he had not his hands at liberty, but the bonds he was in prevented him from killing himself thereby, he dashed his head against a great stone, and thereby took away his own life, which he thought to be the best thing he could do in such a distress as he was in, and thereby put it out of the power of the enemy to bring him to any death he pleased. It is also reported, that when he had made a great wound in his head, Antigonus sent physicians to cure it, and by ordering them to infuse poison into the wound, killed him. However, Phasaelus hearing, before he was quite dead, by a certain woman, that his brother Herod had escaped the enemy, underwent his death cheerfully, since he now left behind him one who would revenge his death, and who was able to inflict punishment on his enemies.

* This law of Moses, that the priests were to be *without blemish*, as to all the parts of their bodies, is in Levit. xxi. 17—24.

CHAP. XIV.

How Herod got away from the king of Arabia, and made haste to go into Egypt. and thence went away in haste also to Rome: and how, by promising a great deal of money to Antony, he obtained of the senate and of Cæsar, to be made king of the Jews

§ 1. As for Herod, the great miseries he was in did not discourage him, but made him sharp in discovering surprising undertakings; for he went to Malchus, king of Arabia, whom he had formerly been very kind to, in order to receive somewhat by way of requital, now he was in more than ordinary want of it, and desired he would let him have some money, either by way of loan, or as his free gift, on account of the many benefits he had received from him; for not knowing what was become of his brother, he was in haste to redeem him out of the hands of his enemies, as willing to give three hundred talents for the price of his redemption. He also took with him the son of Phasaelus, who was a child of but seven years of age, for this very reason that he might be an hostage for the re-payment of the money; But there came messengers from Malchus to meet him, by whom he was desired to be gone, for that the Parthians had laid a charge upon him not to entertain Herod. This was only a pretence which he made use of that he might not be obliged to repay him what he owed him: and this he was farther induced to, by the principal men among the Arabians, that they might cheat him of what sums they had received from [his father] Antipater, and which he had committed to their fidelity. He made answer that he did not intend to be troublesome to them by his coming thither, but that he desired only to discourse with them about certain affairs that were to him of the greatest importance.

2. Hereupon he resolved to go away, and did go very prudently the road to Egypt; and then it was that he lodged in a certain temple, for he had left a great many of his followers there. On the next day he came to Rhinocolura, and there it was that he heard what was befallen his brother. Though Malchus soon repented of what he had done, and came running after Herod, but with no manner of success, for he was gotten a very great way off, and made haste into the road to Pelusium; and when the stationary ships that lay there hindered him from sailing to Alexandria, he went to their captains, by whose assistance, and that out of much reverence of, and great regard to him, he was conducted into the city [Alexandria], and was retained there by Cleopatra,

yet was she not able to prevail with him to stay there, because he was making haste to Rome, even though the weather was stormy, and he were informed that the affairs of Italy were very tumultuous and in great disorder.

3. So he set sail from thence to Pamphylia, and falling into a violent storm, he had much ado to escape to Rhodes, with the loss of the ship's burden; and there it was that two of his friends, Sappinas and Ptolemeus, met with him: and as he found that city very much damaged in the war against Cassius, though he were in necessity himself, he neglected not to do it a kindness, but did what he could to recover it to its former state. He also built there a three decked ship, and set sail thence, with his friends for Italy, and came to the port of Brundusium; and when he was come from thence to Rome, he first related to Antony what had befallen him in Judea, and how Phasaelus his brother was seized on by the Parthians, and put to death by them; and how Hyrcanus was detained captive by them, and how they had made Antigonus king, who had promised them a sum of money, no less than a thousand talents, with five hundred women, who were to be of the principal families, and of the Jewish stock, and that he had carried off the women by night, and that by undergoing a great many hardships, he had escaped the hands of his enemies; as also, that his own relations were in danger of being besieged and taken, and that he had sailed thro' a storm, and contemned all these terrible dangers of it, in order to come, as soon as possible to him, who was his hope and only succour at this time.

4. This account made Antony commiserate * the change that had happened in Herod's condition; and reasoning with himself that this was a common case among those that are placed in such great dignities, and that they are liable to the mutations that come from fortune, he was very ready to give him the assistance he desired, and this because he called to mind the friendship he had had with Antipater, because Herod offered him money to make him king, as he had formerly given it him to make him tetrarch, and chiefly because of his hatred to Antigonus, for he took him to be a seditious person, and an enemy to the Romans. Cæsar was also the forwarder to raise Herod's dignity, and to give him his assistance in what he desired, on account of the toils of war which he had himself undergone with Antipater his father in Egypt, and of the hospitality he had treated him

* Concerning the chronology of Herod, and the time when he was first made king at Rome, and concerning the time when he began his second reign, without a rival, upon the conquest and slaughter of Antigonus, both principally derived from this and the two next chapters in Josephus, see the note on sect. 6. and chap. xv. sect. 10.

withal, and the kindness he had always shewed him, as also to gratify Antony, who was very zealous for Herod. So a senate was convocated; and Massala, first, and then Atratinus, introduced Herod into it, and enlarged upon the benefits they had received from his father, and put them in mind of the good will he had borne to the Romans. At the same time they accused Antigonus, and declared him an enemy, not only because of his former opposition to them, but that he had now overlooked the Romans, and taken the government from the Parthians. Upon this the senate was irritated; and Antony informed them farther, that it was for their advantage in the Parthian war that Herod should be king. This seemed good to all the senators; and so they made a decree accordingly.

5. And this was the principal instance of Antony's affection for Herod, that he not only procured him a kingdom which he did not expect, for he did not come with an intention to ask the kingdom (for himself, which he did not suppose the Romans would grant him, who used to bestow it on some of the royal family, but intended to desire it for his wife's brother, who was grandson by his father to Aristobulus, and to Hyrcanus by his mother), but that he procured it for him so suddenly that he obtained what he did not expect, and departed out of Italy in so few days as seven in all. This young man [the grandson] Herod afterward took care to have slain, as we shall shew in its proper place. But when the senate was dissolved, Antony and Cæsar went out of the senate house, with Herod between them, and with the consuls and other magistrates before them, in order to offer sacrifices, and to lay up their decrees in the capitol. Antony also feasted Herod the first day of his reign. And thus did this man receive the kingdom, having obtained it on the hundred and eighty-fourth Olympiad, when Caius Domitius Calvinus was consul the second time, and Caius Asinius Pollio [the first time.]

6. All this while Antigonus besieged those that were in Massada, who had plenty of all other necessaries, but were only in want * of water, insomuch that on this occasion Joseph, Herod's brother, was contriving to run away from it, with two hundred of his dependents, to the Arabians; for he had heard that Malchus repented of the offences he had been guilty of with regard to Herod: but God, by sending rain in the night time prevented his going away, for their cisterns were thereby filled, and he was under no necessity of running away on that account; but they were now of good courage, and the more so, because the sending that plenty of water which they had been in want of, seemed a

* This grievous want of water at Massada, till the place had like to have been taken by the Parthians, mentioned both here, and of the War, B. I. chap. xv. § 1. vol. III. is an indication that it was now summer time.

mark of divine providence; so they made a sally, and fought hand to hand with Antigonus's soldiers, with some openly, with some privately, and destroyed a great number of them. At the same time, Ventidius, the general of the Romans, was sent out of Syria, to drive the Parthians out of it, and marched after them into Judea, in pretence indeed to succour Joseph, but in reality the whole affair was no more than a stratagem, in order to get money of Antigonus; so they pitched their camp very near to Jerusalem, and wiped off Antigonus a great deal of money, and then he retired himself with the greater part of the army; but that the wickedness he had been guilty of might not be found out, he left Silo there, with a certain part of his soldiers, with whom also Antigonus cultivated an acquaintance, that he might cause him no disturbance, and was still in hopes that the Parthians would come again and defend him.

CHAP. XV.

How Herod sailed out of Italy to Judea, and fought with Antigonus; and what other things happened in Judea about that time.

§ 1. By this time Herod had sailed out of Italy to Ptolemais, and had gotten together no small army, both of strangers and of his own countrymen, and marched through Galilee against Antigonus. Silo also, and Ventidius, came and assisted him, being persuaded by Dellius, who was sent by Antony to assist in bringing back Herod. Now for Ventidius, he was employed in composing the disturbances that had been made in the cities by the means of the Parthians; and for Silo, he was in Judea indeed, but corrupted by Antigonus. However, as Herod went along, his army increased every day, and all Galilee, with some small exception, joined him; but as he was marching to those that were at Massada, for he was obliged to endeavour to save those that were in that fortress, now they were besieged, because they were his relations: Joppa was an hinderance to him, for it was necessary for him to take that place first, it being a city at variance with him, that no strong hold might be left in his enemies' hands behind him when he should go to Jerusalem: and when Silo made this a pretence for rising up from Jerusalem, and was thereupon pursued by the Jews, Herod fell upon them with a small body of men, and both put the Jews to flight and saved Silo, when he was very poorly able to defend himself; but when Herod had taken Joppa, he made haste to set free those of his family that were in Massada. Now of the people of the country, some joined him because of the friendship they had had with

his father, and some because of the splendid appearance he made, and others by way of requital for the benefits they had received from both of them, but the greatest number came to him in hopes of getting somewhat from him afterward, if he were once firmly settled in the kingdom.

2. Herod had now a strong army; and as he marched on, Antigonus laid snares and ambushes in the passes and places most proper for them, but in truth he thereby did little or no damage to the enemy: So Herod received those of his family out of Massada, and the fortress Ressa, and then went on for Jerusalem. The soldiery also that was with Silo accompanied him all along, as did many of the citizens, being afraid of his power; and as soon as he had pitched his camp on the west side of the city, the soldiers that were set to guard that part shot their arrows, and threw their darts at him; and when some sallied out in a crowd, and came to fight hand to hand with the first ranks of Herod's army, he gave orders that they should, in the first place, make proclamation about the wall, That "he came for "the good of the people, and for the preservation of the city, "and not to bear any old grudge at even his most open enemies, "but ready to forget the offences which his greatest adversaries "had done him." But Antigonus, by way of reply to what Herod had caused to be proclaimed, and this before the Romans, and before Silo also, said, "That they would not do justly, if "they gave the kingdom to Herod, who was no more than a "private man, and an Idumean, i. e. * an half Jew, whereas "they ought to bestow it on one of the royal family, as their "custom was; for, that in case they at present bare an ill-will "to him, and had resolved to deprive him of the kingdom, as "having received it from the Parthians, yet were there many "others of his family that might by their law take it, and these "such as had no way offended the Romans, and being of the sa-"cerdotal family, it would be an unworthy thing to put them "by." Now, while they said thus, one to another, and fell to reproaching one another on both sides, Antigonus permitted his own men that were upon the wall to defend themselves, who using their bows, and shewing great alacrity against their enemies, easily drove them away from the towers.

* This affirmation of Antigonus's spoken in the days of Herod, and in a manner to his face, that he was an *Idumean*, i. e. an *half Jew*, seems to me of much greater authority than that pretence of his favourite and flatterer Nicolaus of Damascus, that he derived his pedigree from Jews as far backward as the Babylonish captivity, ch. i. § 3. Accordingly Josephus always esteems him an Idumean, though he says his father Antipater was of the same people with the Jews, ch. viii. § 1. and by birth a Jew, Antiq. B. XX. ch. viii. § 7. as indeed all such proselytes of Justice, as the Idumeans, were in time esteemed the very same people as the Jews.

3. And now it was that Silo discovered that he had taken bribes: for he set a good number of his soldiers to complain aloud of want of provisions they were in, and to require money to buy them food, and that it was fit to let them go into places proper for winter quarters, since the places near the city were a desert, by reason that Antigonus's soldiers had carried all away; so he set the army upon removing, and endeavoured to march away: But Herod pressed Silo not to depart; and exhorted Silo's captains and soldiers not to desert him, when Cæsar and Antony, and the senate, had sent him thither, for that he would provide them plenty of all the things they wanted, and easily procure them a great abundance of what they required; after which entreaty, he immediately went out into the country, and left not the least pretence to Silo for his departure, for he brought an unexpected quantity of provisions, and sent to those friends of his who inhabited about Samaria, to bring down corn, and wine, and oil, and cattle, and all other provisions, to Jericho, that there might be no want of a supply for the soldiers for the time to come. Antigonus was sensible of this, and sent presently over the country such as might restrain and lie in ambush for those that went out for provisions. So these men obeyed the orders of Antigonus, and got together a great number of armed men about Jericho, and sat upon the mountains, and watched those that brought the provisions. However, Herod was not idle in the mean time, for he took ten bands of soldiers, of whom five were of the Romans, and five of the Jews, with some mercenaries among them, and with some few horsemen, and came to Jericho; and as they found the city deserted, but that five hundred of them had settled themselves on the tops of the hills, with their wives and children, those he took and sent away; but the Romans fell upon the city, and plundered it, and found the houses full of all sorts of good things: So the king left a garrison at Jericho, and came back again, and sent the Roman army to take their winter quarters in the countries that were come over to him, Judea and Galilee, and Samaria. And so much did Antigonus gain of Silo for the bribes he gave him, that part of the army should be quartered at Lidda, in order to please Antony. So the Romans laid their weapons aside, and lived in plenty of all things.

4. But Herod was not pleased with lying still, but sent out his brother Joseph against Idumea with two thousand armed footmen, and four hundred horsemen, while he himself came to Samaria, and left his mother and his other relations there, for they were already gone out of Massada, and went into Galilee, to take certain places which were held by the garrisons of Antigonus; and he passed on to Sepphoris, as God sent a snow, while

Antigonus's garrisons withdrew themselves, and had great plenty of provisions. He also went thence, and resolved to destroy those robbers that dwelt in the caves, and did much mischief in the country: so he sent a troop of horsemen, and three companies of armed footmen against them. They were very near to a village called Arbela; and on the fortieth day after, he came himself with his whole army; and as the enemy sallied out boldly upon him, the left wing of his army gave way, but he appearing with a body of men, put those to flight who were already conquerors, and recalled his men that ran away. He also pressed upon his enemies, and pursued them as far as the river Jordan, though they ran away by different roads. So he brought over to him all Galilee, excepting those that dwelt in the caves, and distributed money to every one of his soldiers, giving them an hundred and fifty drachmæ a-piece, and much more to their captains, and sent them into winter quarters: at which time Silo came to him, and his commanders with him, because Antigonus would not give him provisions any longer, for he supplied them for no more than one month; nay, he had sent to all the country about, and ordered them to carry off the provisions that were there, and retire to the mountains, that the Romans might have no provisions to live upon, and so might perish by famine: But Herod committed the care of that matter to Pheroras, his youngest brother, and ordered him to repair Alexandrium also. Accordingly, he quickly made the soldiers abound with great plenty of provisions, and rebuilt Alexandrium, which had been before desolate.

5. About this time it was that Antony continued some time at Athens, and that Ventidius, who was now in Syria, sent for Silo, and commanded him to assist Herod in the first place, to finish the present war, and then to send for their confederates, for the war they were themselves engaged in; but as for Herod, he went in haste against the robbers that were in the caves, and sent Silo away to Ventidius, while he marched against them.—These caves were in mountains that were exceeding abrupt, and in their middle were no other than precipices, with certain entrances into the caves, and those caves were encompassed with sharp rocks, and in these did the robbers lie concealed, with all their familes about them; but the king caused certain chests to be made, in order to destroy them, and to be hung down, bound about with iron chains, by an engine, from the top of the mountain, it being not possible to get up to them, by reason of the sharp ascent of the mountains, nor to creep down to them from above. Now these chests were filled with armed men, who had long hooks in their hands, by which they might pull out such as resisted them, and then tumble them down, and kill them by so

doing: but the letting the chest down proved to be a matter of great danger, because of the vast depth they were to be let down, although they had their provisions in the chests themselves: But when the chests were let down, and not one of those in the mouths of the caves durst come near them, but lay still out of fear, some of the armed men girt on their armour, and by both their hands took hold of the chain, by which the chests were let down, and went into the mouths of the caves, because they fretted that such delay was made by the robbers not daring to come out of the caves; and when they were at any of those mouths, they first killed many of those that were in the mouths with their darts, and afterwards pulled those to them that resisted them with their hooks, and tumbled them down the precipices, and afterwards went into the caves, and killed many more, and then went into their chests again, and lay still there; but upon this, terror seized the rest, when they heard the lamentations that were made, and they despaired of escaping: However, when the night came on, that put an end to the whole work; and as the king proclaimed pardon by an herald to such as delivered themselves up to him, many accepted of the offer. The same method of assault was made use of the next day; and they went farther, and got out in baskets to fight them, and sought them at their doors, and sent fire among them, and set their caves on fire, for there was a great deal of combustible matter within them. Now there was one old man who was caught within one of these caves, with seven children and a wife; these prayed him to give them leave to go out, and yield themselves up to the enemy, but he stood at the cave's mouth, and always slew that child of his who went out, till he had destroyed them every one, and after that he slew his wife, and cast their dead bodies down the precipice, and himself after them, and so underwent death rather than slavery: but before he did this, he greatly reproached Herod with the meanness of his family, although he was then king. Herod also saw what he was doing, and stretched out his hand, and offered him all manner of security for his life: By which means all these caves were at length subdued entirely.

6. And when the king had set Ptolemy over these parts of the country as his general, he went to Samaria, with six hundred horsemen, and three thousand armed footmen, as intending to fight Antigonus. But still this command of the army did not succeed well with Ptolemy, but those that had been troublesome to Galilee before attacked him, and slew him; and when they had done this, they fled among the lakes and places almost inaccessible, laying waste and plundering whatsoever they could come at in those places. But Herod soon returned, and punished them for what they had done; for some of these re-

bels he slew, and others of them, who had fled to the strong-holds, he besieged, and both slew them, and demolished their strong-holds: And when he had thus put an end to their rebellion, he laid a fine upon the cities of an hundred talents.

7. In the mean time Pacorus was fallen in a battle, and the Parthians were defeated. When Ventidius sent Macherus to the assistance of Herod, with two legions and a thousand horsemen, while Antony encouraged him to make haste. But Macherus, at the instigation of Antigonus, without the approbation of Herod, as being corrupted by money, went about to take a view of his affairs: but Antigonus suspecting this intention of his coming, did not admit him into the city, but kept him at a distance, with throwing stones at him, and plainly shewed what he himself meant. But when Macherus was sensible that Herod had given him good advice, and that he had made a mistake himself in not hearkening to that advice, he retired to that city Emmaus; and what Jews he met with he slew them, whether they were enemies, or friends, out of the rage he was in at what hardships he had undergone. The king was provoked at this conduct of his, and went to Samaria, and resolved to go to Antony about these affairs, and to inform him that he stood in no need of such helpers who did him more mischief than they did his enemies, and that he was able of himself to beat Antigonus; but Macherus followed him, and desired that he would not go to Antony, or, if he was resolved to go, that he would join his brother Joseph with them, and let them fight against Antigonus. So he was reconciled to Macherus, upon his earnest entreaties. Accordingly he left Joseph there with his army, but charged him to run no hazards, nor to quarrel with Macherus.

8. But for his own part, he made haste to Antony, (who was then at the siege of Samosata, a place upon Euphrates) with his troops, both horsemen and footmen, to be auxiliaries to him: And when he came to Antioch, and met there a great number of men gotten together that were very desirous to go to Antony, but durst not venture to go out of fear, because the Barbarians fell upon men on the road, and slew many, so he encouraged them, and became their conductor upon the road. Now when they were within two days' march of Samosata, the Barbarians had laid an ambush there to disturb those that came to Antony, and there the woods made the passes narrow, as they led to the plains, where they laid not a few of their horsemen, who were to lie still until those passengers were gone by into the wide place. Now as soon as their first ranks were gone by, (for Herod brought on the rear), those that lay in ambush, who were about five hundred fell upon them on the sudden, and when they had put the foremost to flight, the king came riding hard, with

the forces that were about him, and immediately drove back the enemy; by which means he made the minds of his own men courageous, and emboldened them to go on, insomuch that those who ran away before, now returned back, and the Barbarians were slain on all sides. The king also went on killing them, and recovered all the baggage, among which were a great number of beasts for burden, and of slaves, and proceeded on in his march; and whereas there were a very great number of those in the woods that attacked them, and were near the passage that led into the plain, he made a sally upon these also with a strong body of men; and put them to flight, and slew many of them, and thereby rendered the way safe for those that came after; and these called Herod their saviour and protector.

9. And when he was near to Samosata, Antony sent out his army in all their proper habiliments to meet him, in order to pay Herod this respect, and because of the assistance he had given him, for he had heard what attacks the Barbarians had made upon him [in Judea]. He also was very glad to see him there, as having been made acquainted with the great actions he had performed upon the road: So he entertained him very kindly, and could not but admire his courage. Antony also embraced him as soon as he saw him, and saluted him after a most affectionate manner, and gave him the upper hand, as having himself lately made him a king; and in a little time Antiochus delivered up the fortress, and on that account this war was at an end; then Antony committed the rest to Sosius, and gave him orders to assist Herod, and went himself to Egypt. Accordingly Sosius sent two legions before into Judea to the assistance of Herod, and he followed himself with the body of the army.

10. Now Joseph was already slain in Judea, in the manner following: He forgot what charge his brother Herod had given him when he went to Antony; and when he had pitched his camp among the mountains; for Macherus had lent him five regiments, with these he went hastily to Jericho, in order to reap the corn thereto belonging: and as the Roman regiments were but newly raised, and were unskilful in war, for they were in great part collected out of Syria, he was attacked by the enemy, and caught in those places of difficulty, and was himself slain, as he was fighting bravely, and the whole army was lost, for there were six regiments slain. So when Antigonus had got possession of the dead bodies, he cut off Joseph's head, although Pheroras his brother would have redeemed it at the price of fifty talents. After which defeat the Galileans revolted from their commanders, and took those of Herod's party, and drowned them in the lake, and a great part of Judea was become seditious; but Macherus fortified the place Gitta [in Samaria.]

11. At this time messengers came to Herod, and informed him of what had been done; and when he was come to Daphne by Antioch, they told him of the ill fortune that had befallen his brother; which yet he expected, from certain visions that appeared to him in his dreams, which clearly foreshewed his brother's death. So he hastened his march; and when he came to mount Libanus, he received about eight hundred of the men of that place, having already with him also one Roman legion, and with these he came to Ptolemais. He also marched thence by night with his army, and proceeded along Galilee. Here it was that the enemy met him, and fought him, and were beaten, and shut up in the same place of strength whence they had sallied out the day before. So he attacked the place in the morning, but by reason of a great storm that was then very violent, he was able to do nothing, but drew off his army into the neighbouring villages; yet as soon as the other legion that Antony sent him was come to his assistance, those that were in garrison in the place were afraid, and deserted it in the night time. Then did the king march hastily to Jericho, intending to avenge himself on the enemy for the slaughter of his brother; and when he had pitched his tents, he made a feast for the principal commanders, and after this collation was over, and he had dismissed his guests, he retired to his own chamber; and here may one see what kindness God had for the king, for the upper part of the house fell down when nobody was in it, and so killed none, insomuch that all the people believed that Herod was beloved of God, since he had escaped such a great and surprising danger.

12. But the next day six thousand of the enemy came down from the tops of the mountans to fight the Romans, which greatly terrified them; and the soldiers that were in light armour came near, and pelted the king's guards that were come out with darts and stones, and one of them hit him on the side with a dart. Antigonus also sent a commander against Samaria, whose name was Pappus, with some forces, being desirous to shew the enemy how potent he was, and that he had men to spare in his war with them: He sat down to oppose Macherus; but Herod, when he had taken five cities, took such as were left in them, being about two thousand, and slew them, and burnt the cities themselves, and then returned to go against Pappus, who was encamped at a village called Isanas; and there ran in to him many out of Jericho and Judea, near to which places he was, and the enemy fell upon his men, so stout were they at this time, and joined battle with them, but he beat them in the fight; and in order to be revenged on them for the slaughter of his brother, he pursued them sharply, and killed them as they ran

away: * and as the houses were full of armed men, and many of them ran as far as the tops of the houses, he got them under his power, and pulled down the roofs of the houses, and saw the lower rooms full of soldiers that were caught, and lay all on a heap: so they threw stones down upon them as they lay piled one upon another, and thereby killed them: nor was there a more frightful spectacle in all the war than this, where beyond the walls an immense multitude of dead men lay heaped one upon another. This action it was which chiefly brake the spirits of the enemy, who expected now what would come; for there appeared a mighty number of people that came from places far distant, that were now about the village, but then ran away; and had it not been for the depth of winter, which then restrained them, the king's army had presently gone to Jerusalem, as being very courageous at this good success, and the whole work had been done immediately, for Antigonus was already looking about how he might fly away, and leave the city.

13. At this time the king gave order that the soldiers should go to supper, for it was late at night, while he went into a chamber to use the bath, for he was very weary: and here it was that he was in the greatest danger, which yet, by God's providence, he escaped; for as he was naked, and had but one servant that followed him, to be with him while he was bathing in an inner room, certain of the enemy, who were in their armour, and had fled thither out of fear, were then in the place; and as he was bathing, the first of them came out with his naked sword drawn, and went out at the doors, and after him a second, and third, armed in like manner, and were under such a consternation, that they did no hurt to the king, and thought themselves to have come off very well in suffering no harm themselves, in their getting out of the house. However, on the next day, he cut off the head of Pappus, for he was already slain, and sent it to Pheroras, as a punishment of what their brother had suffered by his means, for he was the man that slew him with his own hand.

14. When the rigour of winter was over, Herod removed his army, and came near to Jerusalem, and pitched his camp hard by the city. Now this was the third year since he had been made king at Rome; and as he removed his camp, and came near that part of the wall where it could be most easily assaulted,

* It may be worth our observation here, that these soldiers of Herod's could not have gotten upon the tops of these houses, which were full of enemies, in order to pull up the upper floors, and destroy them beneath, but on ladders from the outside; which illustrates some texts in the new Testament, by which it appears that men used to ascend thither by ladders on the outsides. See Mat. xxiv. 17. Mark xiii. 15. Luke v. 19. xvii. 31.

he pitched that camp before the temple, intending to make his attacks in the same manner as did Pompey; so he encompassed the place with three bulwarks, and erected towers, and employed a great many hands about the work, and cut down the trees that were round about the city; and when he had appointed proper persons to oversee the works, even while the army lay before the city, he himself went to Samaria, to complete his marriage, and to take to wife the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus; for he had betrothed her already, as I have before related.

CHAP. XVI.

How Herod, when he had married Mariamne, took Jerusalem, with the assistance of Sosius, by force; and how the government of the Asamoneans was put an end to.

§ 1. AFTER the wedding was over, came Sosius through Phenicia, having sent out his army before him over the midland parts. He also, who was their commander, came himself, with a great number of horsemen and footmen. The king also came himself from Samaria, and brought with him no small army, besides that which was there before, for they were about thirty thousand: and they all met together at the walls of Jerusalem, and encamped at the north wall of the city, being now an army of eleven legions, armed men on foot, and six thousand horsemen, with other auxiliaries out of Syria. The generals were two, Sosius, sent by Antony to assist Herod, and Herod on his own account, in order to take the government from Antigonus, who was declared an enemy at Rome, and that he might himself be king, according to the decree of the senate.

2. Now the Jews that were inclosed within the walls of the city fought against Herod with great alacrity and zeal, (for the whole nation was gathered together); they also gave out many prophecies about the temple, and many things agreeable to the people, as if God would deliver them out of the dangers they were in; they had also carried off what was out of the city, that they might not leave any thing to afford sustenance either for men or for beasts: and by private robberies, they made the want of necessaries greater. When Herod understood this, he opposed ambushes in the fittest places against their private robberies, and he sent legions of armed men to bring in provisions, and that from remote places, so that in a little time they had great plenty of provisions. Now the three bulwarks were easily erected, because so many hands were continually at work upon them; for it was summer time, and there was nothing to hinder them in raising their

works, neither from the air, nor from the workmen: so they brought their engines to bear, and shook the walls of the city, and tried all manner of ways to get in; yet did not these within discover any fear, but they also contrived not a few engines to oppose their engines withal. They also sallied out, and burnt not only those engines that were not yet perfected, but those that were; and when they came hand to hand, their attempts were not less bold than those of the Romans, though they were behind them in skill. They also erected new works when the former were ruined, and making mines underground, they met each other, and fought there: and making use of brutish courage rather than of prudent valour, they persisted in this war to the very last; and this they did while a mighty army lay round about them, and while they were distressed by famine, and the want of necessaries, for this happened to be a sabbatic year. The first that scaled the walls were twenty chosen men, the next were Sosius's centurions, for the first wall was taken in forty days, and the second in fifteen more, when some of the cloisters that were about the temple were burnt, which Herod gave out to have been burnt by Antigonus, in order to expose him to the hatred of the Jews. And when the outer court of the temple, and the lower city were taken, the Jews fled into the inner court of the temple, and into the upper city; but now fearing lest the Romans should hinder them from offering their daily sacrifices to God, they sent an embassage, and desired that they would only permit them to bring in beasts for sacrifices, which Herod granted, hoping they were going to yield, but when he saw that they did nothing of what he supposed, but bitterly opposed him, in order to preserve the kingdom to Antigonus, he made an assault upon the city, and took it by storm; and now all parts were full of those that were slain by the rage of the Romans at the long duration of the siege, and by the zeal of the Jews that were on Herod's side, who were not willing to leave one of their adversaries alive, so they were murdered continually in the narrow streets and in the houses by crowds, and as they were flying to the temple for shelter, and there was no pity taken of either infants or the aged, nor did they spare so much as the weaker sex; nay, although the king sent about, and besought them to spare the people, yet nobody restrained their hand from slaughter, but, as if they were a company of madmen, they fell upon persons of all ages, without distinction; and then Antigonus, without regard to either his past or present circumstances, came down from the citadel, and fell down at the feet of Sosius, who took no pity of him, in the change of his fortune, but insulted him beyond measure, and called him *Antigone* [*i. e.* a woman, and not a man]; yet did

he not treat him as if he were a woman, by letting him go at liberty, but put him into bonds and kept him in close custody.

3. And now Herod having overcome his enemies, his care was to govern those foreigners who had been his assistants, for the crowd of strangers rushed to see the temple, and the sacred things in the temple, but the king thinking a victory to be a more severe affliction than a defeat, if any of those things which it was not lawful to see should be seen by them, used entreaties and threatenings, and even sometimes, force itself, to restrain them. He also prohibited the ravage that was made in the city, and many times asked Sosius, whether the Romans would empty the city both of money and men, and leave him king of a desert? and told him, that he esteemed the dominion over the whole habitable earth as by no means an equivalent satisfaction for such a murder of his citizens; and when he said, that this plunder was justly to be permitted the soldiers, for the siege they had undergone, he replied, that he would give every one their reward out of his own money, and by this means he redeemed what remained of the city from destruction; and he performed what he had promised him, for he gave a noble present to every soldier, and a proportionable present to their commanders, but a most royal present to Sosius himself, till they all went away full of money.

4. This * destruction befel the city of Jerusalem when Marcus Agrippa, and Caninius Gallus were consuls of Rome, on the hundred eighty and fifth olympiad, on the third month, on the

* Note here, that Josephus fully and frequently assures us that there passed above three years between Herod's first obtaining the kingdom at Rome, and his second obtaining it upon the taking of Jerusalem, and death of Antigonus. The present history of this interval twice mentions the army's going into winter quarters, which perhaps belonged to two several winters, ch. xv. sect. 3, 4. and though Josephus says nothing how long they lay in those quarters, yet does he give such an account of the long and studied delays of Ventidius Silo, and Macherus, who were to see Herod settled in his new kingdom, but seem not to have had sufficient forces for that purpose, and were for certain all corrupted by Antigonus to make the longest delays possible, and give us such particular accounts of the many great actions of Herod's during the same interval, as fairly imply that interval before Herod went to Samosata, to have been very considerable. However, what is wanting in Josephus, is fully supplied by Moses Chorenensis, the Armenian historian, in his history of that interval, B. II. ch. xviii. where he directly assures us, that Tigranes, then king of Armenia, and the principal manager of this Parthian war, reigned two years after Herod was made king at Rome, and yet Antony did not hear of his death, in that very neighbourhood, at Samosata, till he was come thither to besiege it; after which Herod brought him an army, which was 340 miles march, and through a difficult country, full of enemies also, and joined with him in the siege of Samosata till that city was taken: then Herod and Sosius march back with their large armies the same number of 340 miles, and when in a little time, they sat down to besiege Jerusalem, they were not able to take it but by a siege of five months. All which put together, fully supplies what is wanting in Josephus, and secures the entire chronology of these times beyond contradiction

solemnity of the fast, as if a periodical revolution of calamities had returned, since that which befel the Jews under Pompey, for the Jews were taken by him on the same day, and this was after twenty-seven years' time. So when Sosius had dedicated a crown of gold to God, he marched away from Jerusalem, and carried Antigonus with him in bonds to Antony; but Herod was afraid lest Antigonus should be kept in prison [only] by Antony, and that when he was carried to Rome by him, he might get his cause to be heard by the senate, and might demonstrate, as he was himself of the royal blood, and Herod but a private man, that therefore it belonged to his sons however to have the kingdom, on account of the family they were of, in case he had himself offended the Romans by what he had done. Out of Herod's fear of this it was, that he, by giving Antony a great deal of money, endeavoured to persuade him to have Antigonus slain, which if it were once done, he should be free from that fear. And thus did the government of the Asamoneans cease, an hundred twenty and six years after it was first set up. This family was a splendid and an illustrious one, both on account of the nobility of their stock, and of the dignity of the high priesthood, as also for the glorious actions their ancestors had performed for our nation: but these men lost the government by their dissentions one with another, and it came to Herod the son of Antipater, who was of no more than a vulgar family, and of no eminent extraction, but one that was subject to other kings; and this is what history tells us was the end of the Asamonean family.

BOOK XV.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF EIGHTEEN YEARS.

[FROM THE DEATH OF ANTIGONUS TO THE FINISHING OF THE TEMPLE BY HEROD.]

CHAP. I.

Concerning Pollio and Sameas. Herod slays the principal of Antigonus's friends, and spoils the city of its wealth. Antony beheads Antigonus

§ 1. How Sosius and Herod took Jerusalem by force; and besides that, how they took Antigonus captive, has been related by us in the foregoing book. We will now proceed in the narration. And since Herod had now the government of all Judea put into his hands, he promoted such of the private men in the city as had been of his party, but never left off avenging and punishing every day those that had chosen to be of the party of his enemies: But Pollio, the Pharisee, and Sameas, a disciple of his, were honoured by him above all the rest, for when Jerusalem was besieged, they advised the citizens to receive Herod, for which advice they were well requited; but this Pollio, at the time when Herod was once upon his trial of life and death, foretold, in way of reproach, to Hyrcanus and the other judges, how this Herod, whom they suffered now to escape, would afterward inflict punishment on them all; which had its completion in time, while God fulfilled the words he had spoken.

2. At this time Herod, now he had got Jerusalem under his power, carried off all the royal ornaments, and spoiled the wealthy men of what they had gotten; and when, by these means, he had heaped together a great quantity of silver and gold, he gave it all to Antony, and his friends that were about him. He also slew forty-five of the principal men of Antigonus's party, and set guards at the gates of the city, that nothing might be carried out together with their dead bodies. They also searched the dead, and whatsoever was found, either of silver or gold, or other treasure, it was carried to the king; nor was there any end of the miseries he brought upon them, and this distress was in part occasioned by the covetousnes of the prince regent, who was still in want of more, and in part by the sabbatic year, which

was still going on, and forced the country to lie still uncultivated, since we are forbidden to sow our land in that year. Now when Antony had received Antigonus as his captive, he determined to keep him against his triumph; but when he heard that the nation grew seditious, and that, out of their hatred to Herod they continued to bear good will to Antigonus, he resolved to behead him at Antioch, for otherwise the Jews could no way be brought to be quiet. And Strabo of Cappadocia attests to what I have said, when he thus speaks: "Antony ordered Antigonus the Jew to be brought to Antioch, and there to be beheaded: And this Antony seems to me to have been the very first man who beheaded a king, as supposing he could no other way bend the minds of the Jews, so as to receive Herod, whom he had made king in his stead, for by no torments could they be forced to call him king, so great a fondness they had for their former king; so he thought that this dishonourable death would diminish the value they had for Antigonus's memory, and at the same time would diminish their hatred they bare to Herod." Thus far Strabo.

CHAP. II.

How Hyrcanus was set at liberty by the Parthians, and returned to Herod; and what Alexandra did when she heard that Ananelus was made high priest.

§ 1. Now after Herod was in possession of the kingdom, Hyrcanus the high priest, who was then a captive among the Parthians, came to him again, and was set free from his captivity, in the manner following: Barzapharnes and Pocorus, the generals of the Parthians, took Hyrcanus, who was first made high priest and afterward king, and Herod's brother, Phasaelus, captives, and were carrying them away into Parthia. Phasaelus indeed could not bear the reproach of being in bonds, and thinking that death with glory was better than any life whatsoever, he became his own executioner, as I have formerly related.

2. But when Hyrcanus was brought into Parthia, the king Phraates treated him after a very gentle manner, as having already learned of what an illustrious family he was; on which account he set him free from his bonds, and gave him an habitation at * Babylon, where there was Jews in great numbers.

* The city here called *Babylon* by Josephus, seems to be one which was built by some of the Seleucidæ upon the Tigris, which long after the utter desolation of old Babylon was commonly so called, and I suppose not far from Seleucia; just as the latter adjoining city Bagdat has been, and is often called by the same old name of Babylon till this very day.

These Jews honoured Hyrcanus as their high priest, and king; as did all the Jewish nation that dwelt as far as Euphrates; which respect was very much to his satisfaction. But when he was informed that Herod had received the kingdom, new hopes came upon him, as having been himself still of a kind disposition towards him, and expecting that Herod would bear in mind what favour he had received from him, and when he was upon his trial, and when he was in danger that a capital sentence would be pronounced against him, he delivered him from that danger, and from all punishment. Accordingly, he talked of that matter with the Jews that came often to him with great affection; but they endeavoured to retain him among them, and desired that he would stay with them, putting him in mind of the kind offices and honours they did him, and that those honours they paid him were not at all inferior to what they could pay to either their high priests or their kings: and what was a greater motive to determine him, they said, was this, that he could not have those dignities [in Judea] because of that maim in his body, which had been inflicted on him by Antigonus; and that kings do not use to requite men for those kindnesses which they received when they were private persons, the height of their fortune making usually no small changes in them.

3. Now although they suggested these arguments to him for his own advantage, yet did Hyrcanus still desire to depart. Herod also wrote to him, and persuaded him to desire of Phraates, and the Jews that were there, that they should not grudge him he royal authority, which he should have jointly with himself, for that now was the proper time for himself to make him amends for the favours he had received from him, as having been brought up by him, and saved by him also, as well as for Hyrcanus to receive it. And as he wrote thus to Hyrcanus, so did he send also Saramallas, his ambassador, to Phraates, and many presents with him, and desired him in the most obliging way, that he would be no hinderance to his gratitude towards his benefactor. But this zeal of Herod's did not flow from that principle, but because he had been made governor of that country without having any just claim to it, he was afraid, and that upon reasons good enough, of a change in his condition, and so made what haste he could to get Hyrcanus into his power, or indeed to put him quite out of the way: which last thing he compassed afterward.

4. Accordingly, when Hyrcanus came, full of assurance, by the permission of the king of Parthia, and at the expense of the Jews, who supplied him with money, Herod received him with all possible respect, and gave him the upper place at public meetings, and set him above all the rest at feasts, and thereby deceived him. He called him his father; and endeavoured by all the

ways possible, that he might have no suspicion of any treacherous design against him. He also did other things, in order to secure his government, which yet occasioned a sedition in his own family; for being cautious how he made any * illustrious person the high priest of God, he sent for an obscure priest out of Babylon whose name was Ananelus, and bestowed the high priesthood upon him.

5. However, Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus, and wife of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus the king, who had also brought Alexander [two] children, could not bear this indignity. Now this son was one of the greatest comeliness, and was called Aristobulus; and the daughter, Mariamne, was married to Herod, and eminent for her beauty also. This Alexandra was much disturbed, and took this indignity offered to her son exceeding ill, that while he was alive, any one else should be sent for to have the dignity of the high priesthood conferred upon him. Accordingly she wrote to Cleopatra (a musician assisting her in taking care to have her letters carried), to desire her intercession with Antony, in order to gain the high priesthood for her son.

6. But as Antony was slow in granting this request, his friend † Dellius came into Judea upon some affairs, and when he saw Aristobulus, he stood in admiration at the tallness and handsomeness of the child, and no less at Mariamne, the king's wife, and was open in his commendations of Alexandra, as the mother of most beautiful children: And when she came to discourse with him, he persuaded her to get pictures drawn of them both, and to send them to Antony, for that when he saw them, he would deny her nothing that she should ask. Accordingly Alexandra was elevated with these words of his, and sent the Pictures to Antony. Dellius also talked extravagantly, and said, That "these children seemed not derived from men, but from some "god or other." His design in doing so was to entice Antony into lewd pleasures with them, who was ashamed to send for

* Here we have an eminent example of Herod's worldly and profane politics, when by the abuse of his unlawful and usurped power, to make whom he pleased high priest, in the person of Ananelus, he occasioned such disturbances in his kingdom, and in his own family, as suffered him to enjoy no lasting peace or tranquillity ever afterward: and such is frequently the effect of profane court politics about matters of religion in other ages and nations. The Old Testament is full of the miseries the people of the Jews derived from such court politics, especially in and after the days of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, *who made Israel to sin;* who gave the most pernicious example of it; who brought on the grossest corruption of religion by it; and the punishment of whose family for it was most remarkable. The case is too well known to stand in need of particular citations.

† Of this wicked Dellius, see the note on the War, B. I. ch. xv. sect. 3. vol. III.

the damsel, as being the wife of Herod, and avoided it, because of the reproaches he should have from Cleopatra on that account, but he sent, in the most decent manner he could for the young man; but added this withal, "Unless he thought it hard upon "him so to do." When this letter was brought to Herod, he did not think it safe for him to send one so handsome as was Aristobulus, in the prime of his life, for he was sixteen years of age, and of so noble a family, and particularly not to Antony, the principal man among the Romans, and one that would abuse him in his amours, and besides, one that openly indulged himself in such pleasures, as his power allowed him, without control. He therefore wrote back to him, That "if this boy "should only go out of the country, all would be in a state of "war and uproar, because the Jews were in hopes of a change "in the government, and to have another king over them."

7. When Herod had thus excused himself to Antony, he resolved that he would not entirely permit the child or Alexandra to be treated dishonourably: but his wife Mariamne lay vehemently at him to restore the high priesthood to her brother, and he judged it was for his advantage so to do, because, if he once had that dignity, he could not go out of the country. So he called his friends together, and told them, That "Alexandra "privately conspired against his royal authority, and endea- "voured by the means of Cleopatra, so to bring it about, that "he might be deprived of the government, and that by Anto- "ny's means this youth might have the management of public "affairs in his stead; and that this procedure of hers was un- "just, since she would at the same time deprive her daughter "of the dignity she now had, and would bring disturbances up- "on the kingdom, for which he had taken a great deal of pains, "and had gotten it with extraordinary hazards: that yet "while he well remembered her wicked practices, he would "not leave off doing what was right himself, but would even "now give the youth the high priesthood: and that he for- "merly set up Ananelus, because Aristobulus was then so "very young a child." Now when he had said this, not at random, but as he thought with the best discretion he had, in order to deceive the women, and those friends whom he had taken to consult withal, Alexandra, out of the great joy she had at this unexpected promise, and out of fear from the suspicions she lay under, fell a-weeping, and made the following apology for herself; and said, That "as to the [high] priest- "hood, she was very much concerned for the disgrace her son "was under, and so did her utmost endeavours to procure it for "him, but that as to the kingdom, she had made no attempts, "and that if it were offered her [for her son], she would not

"accept it; and that now she would be satisfied with her son's "dignity, while he himself held the civil government, and she "had thereby the security that arose, from his peculiar ability "in governing, to all the remainder of her family: that she "was now overcome by his benefits, and thankfully accepted of "this honour shewed by him to her son, and that she would "hereafter be entirely obedient: And she desired him to excuse "her, if the nobility of her family and that freedom of acting "which she thought that allowed her, had made her act too "precipitately and imprudently in this matter." So when they had spoken thus to one another, they came to an agreement, and all suspicions, so far as appeared, were vanished away.

CHAP. III.

How Herod, upon his making Aristobulus high priest, took care that he should be murdered in a little time: and what apology he made to Antony about Aristobulus: As also concerning Joseph and Mariamne.

§ 1. So king Herod immediately took the high priesthood away from Ananelus, who, as we said before, was not of this country, but one of those Jews that had been carried captive beyond Euphrates; for there were not a few ten thousands of this people that had been carried captives, and dwelt about Babylonia, whence Ananelus came. He was one * of the stock of the high priests, and had been of old a particular friend of Herod's; and when he was first made king, he conferred that dignity upon him, and now put him out of it again, in order to quiet the troubles in his family, though what he did was plainly unlawful, for at no other time [of old] was any one that had once been in that dignity deprived of it. It was Antiochus Epiphanes who first brake that law, and deprived Jesus, and made his brother Onias high priest in his stead. Aristobulus was the second that did so, and took that dignity from his brother [Hyrcanus;]

* When Josephus says here, that this Ananelus, the new high priest, was *of the stock of the high priests*, and since he had been just telling us that he was a priest of an *obscure* family or character, ch. ii. § 4. it is not at all probable that he could so soon say that he was *of the stock of the high priests*. However, Josephus here makes a remarkable observation, that this Ananelus was the *third* that was very unjustly and wickedly turned out of the high priesthood by the civil power, no king or governor having ventured to do so that Josephus knew of, but that heathen tyrant and persecutor Antiochus Epiphanes, that barbarous parricide Aristobulus, the first that took royal authority among the Maccabees; and this tyrant king Herod the Great, although afterward that infamous practice became frequent, till the very destruction of Jerusalem, when the office of high priesthood was at an end.

and this Herod was the third, who took that high office away [from Ananelus,] and gave it to this young man, Aristobulus, in his stead.

2. And now Herod seemed to have healed the divisions in his family: yet was he not without suspicion, as is frequently the case, of people seeming to be reconciled to one another, but thought that, as Alexandra had already made attempts tending to innovations, so did he fear that she would go on therein, if she found a fit opportunity for so doing; so he gave a command, that she should dwell in the palace, and meddle with no public affairs: her guards also were so careful, that nothing she did in private life every day was concealed. All these hardships put her out of patience, by little and little, and she began to hate Herod; for as she had the pride of a woman to the utmost degree, she had great indignation at this suspicious guard that was about her as desirous rather to undergo any thing that could befall her, than to be deprived of her liberty of speech, and, under the notion of an honorary guard, to live in a state of slavery and terror. She therefore sent to Cleopatra, and made a long complaint of the circumstances she was in, and entreated her to do her utmost for her assistance. Cleopatra hereupon advised her to take her son with her, and come away immediately to her into Egypt. This advice pleased her; and she had this contrivance for getting away: She got two coffins made, as if they were to carry away two dead bodies, and put herself into one, and her son into the other, and gave orders to such of her servants, as knew of her intentions, to carry them away in the night time. Now their road was to be thence to the sea-side, and there was a ship ready to carry them into Egypt. Now Æsop, one of her servants, happened to fall upon Sabion, one of her friends, and spake of this matter to him, as thinking he had known of it before. When Sabion knew this, (who had formerly been an enemy of Herod's, and been esteemed one of those that laid snares for, and gave the poison to [his father] Antipater, he expected that this discovery would change Herod's hatred into kindness, so he told the king of this private stratagem of Alexandra's: Whereupon he suffered her to proceed to the execution of her project, and caught her in the very fact, but still he passed by her offence: and though he had a great mind to do it, he durst not inflict any thing that was severe upon her, for he knew that Cleopatra would not bear that he should have her accused, on account of her hatred to him, but made a shew as if it were rather the generosity of his soul, and his great moderation, that made him forgive them. However, he fully proposed to himself to put this young man out of the way, by one means or other; but he thought he might

in probability be better concealed in doing it, if he did it not presently, nor immediately after what had lately happened.

3. And now, upon the approach of the feast of tabernacles, which is a festival very much observed among us, he let those days pass over, and both he and the rest of the people were therein very merry; yet did the envy which at this time arose in him, cause him to make haste to do what he was about, and provoke him to do it: for when this youth Aristobulus, who was now in the seventeenth year of his age; went up to the altar, according to the law to offer the sacrifices, and this with the ornaments of his high priesthood, and when he * performed the sacred offices, he seemed to be exceeding comely, and taller than men usually were at that age, and to exhibit in his countenance a great deal of that high family he was sprung from, and a warm zeal and affection towards him appeared among the people, and the memory of the actions of his grandfather Aristobulus, was fresh in their minds; and their affections got so far the mastery of them that they could not forbear to shew their inclinations to him. They at once rejoiced, and were confounded, and mingled with good wishes their joyful acclamations which they made to him, till the good-will of the multitude was made too evident, and they more rashly proclaimed the happiness they had received from his family than was fit under a monarchy to have done. Upon all this, Herod resolved to complete what he had intended against the young man. When therefore the festival was over, and he was feasting at † Jericho with Alexandra, who entertained them there, he was then very pleasant with the young man, and drew him into a lonely place; and at the same time played with him in a juvenile and ludicrous manner. Now the nature of that place was hotter than ordinary; so they went out in a body and of a sudden, and in a vein of madness; and as they stood by the fish ponds, of which there were large ones about the house, they went to cool themselves [by bathing] because it was in the midst of an hot day. At first they were only spectators of Herod's servants and acquaintance as they were swimming, but after a while, the young man, at the instigation of Herod, went into the water among them, while such of Herod's acquaintance, as he had appointed to do it, dipped him, as he was swimming, and plunged him under water, in the dark of the evening, as if it had been done in sport only, nor

* This entirely confutes the Talmudists, who pretend that no one under *twenty* years of age could officiate as high priest among the Jews.

† An Hebrew chronicle, cited by Reland, says, this drowning was at *Jordan*, not at *Jericho*, and this even when he quotes Josephus. I suspect the transcriber of the Hebrew chronicle mistook the name, and wrote *Jordan* for *Jericho*.

did they desist till he was entirely suffocated; and thus was Aristobulus murdered, having lived no more in all than * eighteen years, and kept the high priesthood one year only: which high priesthood Ananelus now recovered again.

4. When this sad accident was told the women, their joy was soon changed to lamentation, at the sight of the dead body that lay before them; and their sorrow was immoderate. The city also of [Jerusalem], upon the spreading of this news, were in very great grief, every family looking on this calamity, as if it had not belonged to another, but that one of themselves was slain; but Alexandra was more deeply affected, upon her knowledge that he had been destroyed [on purpose]. Her sorrow was greater than that of others, by her knowing how the murder was committed, but she was under a necessity of bearing up under it, out of her prospect of a greater mischief that might otherwise follow: and she oftentimes came to an inclination to kill herself with her own hand, but still she restrained herself, in hopes she might live long enough to revenge the unjust murder thus privately committed; nay, she farther resolved to endeavour to live longer, and to give no occasion to think she suspected that her son was slain on purpose, and supposed that she might thereby be in a capacity of revenging it at a proper opportunity. Thus did she restrain herself, that she might not be noted for entertaining any such suspicion. However, Herod endeavoured that none abroad should believe that the child's death was caused by any design of his; and for this purpose he did not only use the ordinary signs of sorrow, but fell into tears so, and exhibited a real confusion of soul: and perhaps his affections were overcome on this occasion, when he saw the child's countenance so young, and so beautiful, although his death were supposed to tend to his own security; so far at least this grief served as to make some apology for him: and as for his funeral, that he took care should be very magnificent, by making great preparation for a sepulchre to lay his body in, and providing a great quantity of spices, and burying many ornaments together with him, till the very women, who were in such deep sorrow, were astonished at it, and received in this way some consolation.

5. However, no such things could overcome Alexandra's grief, but the remembrance of this miserable case made her sorrow both deep and obstinate. Accordingly, she wrote an account of this treacherous scene to Cleopatra, and how her son was mur-

* The reading of one of Josephus's Greek MSS. seems here to be right, that Aristobulus was *not eighteen years old* when he was drowned, for he was not *seventeen* when he was made high priest, ch. ii. § 6. ch. iii. sect. 3. and he continued in that office but one year, as in the place before us.

dered; but Cleopatra, as she had formerly been desirous to give her what satisfaction she could, and commiserating Alexandra's misfortunes, made the case her own, and would not let Antony be quiet, but excited him to punish the child's murder; for that it was an unworthy thing that Herod, who had been by him made king of a kingdom that no way belonged to him, should be guilty of such horrid crimes against those that were of the royal blood in reality. Antony was persuaded by these arguments; and when he came to Laodicea, he sent and commanded Herod to come and make his defence, as to what he had done to Aristobulus, for that such a treacherous design was not well done, if he had any hand in it. Herod was now in fear, both of the accusation, and of Cleopatra's ill-will to him, which was such, that she was ever endeavouring to make Antony hate him. He therefore determined to obey his summons, for he had no possible way to avoid it: so he left his uncle, Joseph, procurator for his government, and for the public affairs, and gave him a private charge, that if Antony should kill him he also should kill Mariamne immediately; for that he had a tender affection for this his wife, and was afraid of the injury that should be offered him, if, after his death, she, for her beauty, should be engaged to some other man: but his intimation was nothing but this at the bottom, that Antony had fallen in love with her when he had formerly heard somewhat of her beauty. So when Herod had given Joseph this charge, and had indeed no sure hopes of escaping with his life, he went away to Antony.

6. But as Joseph was administering the public affairs of the kingdom, and for that reason was very frequently with Mariamne, both because his business required it, and because of the respects he ought to pay to the queen, he frequently let himself into discourses about Herod's kindness, and great affection towards her; and when the women, especially Alexandra, used to turn his discourses into feminine raillery, Joseph was so over desirous to demonstrate the king's inclinations, that he proceeded so far as to mention the charge he had received, and thence drew his demonstration, that Herod was not able to live without her; and that if he should come to any ill end, he could not endure a separation from her, even after he was dead. Thus spake Joseph. But the women, as was natural, did not take this to be an instance of Herod's strong affection for them, but of his severe usage of them, that they could not escape destruction, nor a tyrannical death, even when he was dead himself: and this saying [of Joseph's was a foundation for the women's severe suspicions about him afterwards.

7. At this time a report went about the city Jerusalem, among Herod's enemies, that Antony had tortured Herod, and

put him to death. This report, as is natural, disturbed those that were about the palace, but chiefly the women: Upon which Alexandra endeavoured to persuade Joseph to go out of the palace, and fly to the ensigns of the Roman legion, which then lay encamped about the city as a guard to the kingdom, under the command of Julius; for that, by this means, if any disturbance should happen about the palace, they should be in greater security, as having the Romans favourable to them; and that besides, they hoped to obtain the highest authority, if Antony did but once see Mariamne, by whose means they should recover the kingdom, and want nothing which was reasonable, for them to hope for, because of their royal extraction.

8. But as they were in the midst of these deliberations, letters were brought from Herod about all his affairs, and proved contrary to the report, and of what they before expected; for when he was come to Antony, he soon recovered his interest with him, by the presents he made him, which he had brought with him from Jerusalem, and he soon induced him, upon discoursing with him, to leave off his indignation at him, so that Cleopatra's persuasions had less force than the arguments and presents he brought, to regain his friendship, for Antony said, That, "it "was not good to require an account of a king, as to the affairs "of his government, for at this rate he could be no king at all, "but that those who had given him that authority ought to per-"mit him to make use of it." He also said the same things to Cleopatra, that it would be best for her not busily to meddle with the acts of the king's government. Herod wrote an account of these things, and "enlarged upon the other honours "which he had received from Antony: how he sat by him at "his hearing causes, and took his diet with him every day, "and that he enjoyed those favours from him, notwithstanding "the reproaches that Cleopatra so severely laid against him, "who having a great desire of his country, and earnestly en-"treating Antony that the kingdom might be given to her, la-"boured with her utmost diligence to have him out of the way, "but that he still found Antony just to him, and had no longer "any apprehensions of hard treatment from him; and that he "was soon upon his return, with a firmer additional assurance "of his favour to him, in his reigning and managing public "affairs; and that there was no longer any hope for Cleopatra's "covetous temper, since Antony had given her Cœlesyria in-"stead of what she desired, by which means he had at once "pacified her, and got clear, of the entreaties which she made "him to have Judea bestowed upon her."

9. When these letters were brought, the women left off their attempt for flying to the Romans, which they thought of while

Herod was supposed to be dead, yet was not that purpose of theirs a secret; but when the king had conducted Antony on his way against the Parthians, he returned to Judea, when both his sister Salome, and his mother informed him of Alexandra's intentions. Salome also added somewhat farther against Joseph, though it were no more than a calumny, that he had often had criminal conversation with Mariamne. The reason of her saying so was this, that she for a long time bare her ill-will, for when they had differences with one another, Mariamne, took great freedoms and reproached the rest for the meanness of their birth. But Herod, whose affection to Mariamne was always very warm, was presently disturbed at this, and could not bear the torments of jealousy, but was still restrained from doing any rash thing to her by the love he had for her: yet did his vehement affection and jealousy together make him ask Mariamne by herself about this matter of Joseph; but she denied it upon her oath, and said all that an innocent woman could possibly say in her own defence, so that by little and little the king was prevailed upon to drop the suspicion, and left off his anger at her; and being overcome with his passion for his wife, he made an apology to her for having seemed to believe what he had heard about her, and returned her a great many acknowledgments of her modest behaviour, and professed the extraordinary affection and kindness he had for her, till at last, as is usual between lovers, they both fell into tears, and embraced one another with a most tender affection. But as the king gave more and more assurances of his belief of her fidelity, and endeavoured to draw her to a like confidence in him, Mariamne said, "Yet was not that "command thou gavest, that if any harm came to thee from "Antony, I, who had been no occasion of it, should perish with "thee, a sign of thy love to me." When these words were fallen from her, the king was shocked at them, and presently let her go out of his arms, and cried out, and tore his hair with his own hands, and said, that "now he had an evident demonstration that "Joseph had had criminal conversation with his wife, for that "he would never have uttered what he had told him alone by "himself, unless there had been such a great familiarity and firm "confidence between them." And while he was in this passion he had like to have killed his wife, but being still overborne by his love to her, he restrained this his passion, though not without a lasting grief, and disquietness of mind. However, he gave order to slay Joseph, without permitting him to come into his sight; and as for Alexandra, he bound her, and kept her in custody, as the cause of all this mischief.

CHAP. IV.

How Cleopatra, when she had gotten from Antony some parts of Judea and Arabia, came into Judea; and how Herod gave her many presents, and conducted her on her way back to Egypt.

§ 1. Now at this time the affairs of Syria were in confusion by Cleopatra's constant persuasions to Antony to make an attempt upon every body's dominions; for she persuaded him to take those dominions away from their several princes, and bestow them upon her; and she had a mighty influence upon him, by reason of his being enslaved to her by his affections. She was also by nature very covetous, and stuck at no wickedness. She had already poisoned her brother, because she knew that he was to be king of Egypt, and this when he was but fifteen years old: and she got her sister Arsinoe to be slain, by the means of Antony, when she was a supplicant at Diana's temple at Ephesus; for if there was but any hopes of getting money, she would violate both temples and sepulchres. Nor was there any holy place, that was esteemed the most inviolable, from which she would not fetch the ornaments it had in it; nor any place so profane, but was to suffer the most flagitious treatment possible from her, if it could but contribute somewhat to the covetous humour of this wicked creature: yet did not all this suffice so extravagant a woman, who was a slave to her lusts, but she still imagined that she wanted every thing she could think of, and did her utmost to gain it; for which reason she hurried Antony on perpetually to deprive others of their dominions, and give them to her. And as she went over Syria with him, she contrived to get it into her possession, so he slew Lysanius, the son of Ptolemy, accusing him of his bringing the Parthians upon those countries. She also petitioned Antony to give her Judea and Arabia, and in order thereto, desired him to take these countries away from their present governors. As for Antony, he was so entirely overcome by this woman, that one would not think her conversation only could do it, but that he was some way or other bewitched to do whatsoever she would have him; yet did the grossest parts of her injustice make him so ashamed, that he would not always hearken to her, to do those flagrant enormities she would have persuaded him to. That therefore he might not totally deny her, nor, by doing every thing which she enjoined him, appear openly to be an ill man, he took some parts of each of those countries away from their former governors, and gave them to her. Thus

he gave her the cities that were within the river Eleutherus, as far as Egypt, excepting Tyre and Sidon, which he knew to have been free cities from their ancestors, although she pressed him very often to bestow those on her also.

2. When Cleopatra had obtained thus much, and had accompanied Antony in his expedition to Armenia, as far as Euphrates she returned back, and came to Apamia and Damascus, and passed on to Judea, where Herod met her, and farmed of her parts of Arabia, and those revenues that came to her from the region about Jericho. This country bears that balsam, which is the most precious drug that is there, and grows there alone. The place bears also palm-trees, both many in number, and those excellent in their kind. When she was there, and was very often with Herod, she endeavoured to have criminal conversation with the king: Nor did she affect secrecy in the indulgence of such sort of pleasures; and perhaps she had in some measure a passion of love to him, or rather, what is most probable, she laid a treacherous snare for him, by aiming to obtain such adulterous conversation from him: However, upon the whole, she seemed overcome with love to him. Now Herod had a great while borne no good-will to Cleopatra, as knowing that she was a woman irksome to all; and at that time he thought her particularly worthy of his hatred, if this attempt proceeded out of lust: he had also thought of preventing her intrigues, by putting her to death, if such were her endeavours. However, he refused to comply with her proposals, and called a council of his friends to consult with them, "Whether he should not kill "her, now he had her in his power? for that he should thereby "deliver all those from a multitude of evils to whom she was "already become irksome, and was expected to be still so for "the time to come; and that this very thing would be much "for the advantage of Antony himself, since she would certainly not be faithful to him, in case any such reason or necessity "should come upon him as that he should stand in need of her "fidelity." But when he thought to follow this advice, his friends would not let him; and told him, That "in the first "place it was not right to attempt so great a thing, and run "himself thereby into the utmost danger: and they laid hard "at him, and begged of him, to undertake nothing rashly, for "that Antony would never bear it, no not though any one "should evidently lay before his eyes that it was for his own "advantage; and that the appearance of depriving him of her "conversation, by this violent and treacherous method, would "probably set his affections more in a flame than before. Nor "did it appear that he could offer any thing of tolerable weight "in his defence, this defence being against such a woman as

"was of the highest dignity of any of her sex at that time in "the world: and as to any advantage to be expected from such "an undertaking, if any such could be supposed in this case, it "would appear to deserve condemnation, on account of the in-"solence he must take upon him in doing it. Which consider-"ations made it very plain that in so doing he would find his "government filled with mischiefs, both great and lasting, "both to himself and his posterity, whereas it was still in his "power to reject that wickedness she would persuade him to, "and to come off honourably at the same time." So by thus affrighting Herod, and representing to him the hazard he must, in all probability, run by this undertaking, they restrained him from it. So he treated Cleopatra kindly, and made her presents, and conducted her on her way to Egypt.

3. But Antony subdued Armenia, and sent Artabazes, the son of Tigranes, in bonds with his children and procurators, to Egypt, and made a present of them, and of all the royal ornaments which he had taken out of that kingdom, to Cleopatra. And Artaxias, the eldest of his sons, who had escaped at that time, took the kingdom of Armenia; who yet was ejected by Archelaus and Nero Cæsar, when they restored Tigranes, his younger brother, to that kingdom: But this happened a good while afterward.

4. But then, as to the tributes which Herod was to pay Cleopatra for that country which Antony had given her, he acted fairly with her, as deeming it not safe for him to afford any cause for Cleopatra to hate him. As for the king of Arabia, whose tribute Herod had undertaken to pay her, for some time indeed he paid him as much as came to two hundred talents, but he afterward became very niggardly, and slow in his payments, and could hardly be brought to pay some parts of it, and was not willing to pay even them, without some deductions.

CHAP. V.

How Herod made war with the king of Arabia, and after they had fought many battles, at length conquered him, and was chosen by the Arabs to be governor of that nation: As also concerning a great earthquake.

§ 1. HEREUPON Herod held himself ready to go against the king of Arabia, because of his ingratitude to him, and because, after all, he would do nothing that was just to him, although Herod made the Roman war an occasion of delaying his own, for the battle at Actium, was now expected, which fell into the hundred eighty and seventh olympiad, where Cæsar and

Antony were to fight for the supreme power of the world; but Herod having enjoyed a country that was very fruitful, and that now for a long time, and having received great taxes, and raised great armies therewith, got together a body of men, and carefully furnished them with all necessaries, and designed them as auxiliaries for Antony: But Antony said, he had no want of his assistance; but he commanded him to punish the king of Arabia; for he had heard both from him, and from Cleopatra, how perfidious he was; for this was what Cleopatra desired, who thought it for her own advantage, that those two kings should do one another as great a mischief as possible. Upon this message from Antony, Herod returned back, but kept his army with him, in order to invade Arabia immediately. So when his army of horsemen and footmen was ready, he marched to Diospolis, whither the Arabians came also to meet them, for they were not unapprised of this war that was coming upon them; and after a great battle had been fought, the Jews had the victory.—But afterward there were gotten together another numerous army of the Arabians, at Cana, which are places at Cœlesyria. Herod was informed of this before-hand: so he came marching against them with the greatest part of the forces he had; and when he was come near to Cana, he resolved to encamp himself, and he cast up a bulwark, that he might take a proper season for attacking the enemy, but as he was giving those orders, the multitude of the Jews cried out, that he should make no delay, but lead them against the Arabians. They went with great spirit, as believing they were in very good order, and those especially were so that had been in the former battle, and had been conquerors, and had not permitted their enemy so much as to come to a close fight with them. And when they were so tumultuous, and shewed such great alacrity, the king resolved to make use of that zeal the multitude then exhibited; and when he had assured them he would not be behind hand with them in courage, he led them on, and stood before them all in his armour, all the regiments following him in their several ranks: Whereupon a consternation fell upon the Arabians; for when they perceived that the Jews were not to be conquered, and were full of spirit, the greater part of them ran away, and avoided fighting, and they had been quite destroyed, had not Athenion fallen upon the Jews, and distressed them, for this man was Cleopatra's general over the soldiers she had there, and was at enmity with Herod, and very wistfully looked on to see what the event of the battle would be: He had also resolved, that in case the Arabians did any thing that was brave and successful, he would lie still, but in case they were beaten, as it really happened, he would attack the Jews with those forces he had of his

own, and with those that the country had gotten together for him: So he fell upon the Jews unexpectedly, when they were fatigued, and thought they had already vanquished the enemy, and made a great slaughter of them: for as the Jews had spent their courage upon their known enemies, and were about to enjoy themselves in quietness after the victory, they were easily beaten by these that attacked them afresh, and in particular received a great loss in places where the horses could not be of service, and which were very stony, and where those that attacked them were better acquainted with the places than themselves. And when the Jews had suffered this loss, the Arabians raised their spirits after their defeat, and returning back again, slew those that were already put to flight; and indeed all sorts of slaughter were now frequent, and of those that escaped, a few only returned into the camp. So king Herod, when he despaired of the battle, rode up to them to bring them assistance, yet did he not come time enough to do them any service, though he laboured hard to do it, but the Jewish camp was taken, so that the Arabians had unexpectedly a most glorious success, having gained that victory which of themselves they were no way likely to have gained, and slaying a great part of the enemy's army: Whence afterward Herod could only act like a private robber and make excursions upon many parts of Arabia, and distress them by sudden incursions, while he encamped among the mountains, and avoided by any means to come to a pitched battle, yet did he greatly harass the enemy by his assiduity, and the hard labour he took in this matter. He also took great care of his own forces, and used all the means he could to restore his affairs to their old state.

2. At this time it was that the fight happened at Actium, between Octavius Cæsar, and Antony, in * the seventh year of the reign of Herod: and then it was also there was an earthquake in Judea, such an one as had not happened at any other time, and which earthquake brought a great destruction upon the cattle in that country. About ten thousand men also perished by the fall of houses; but the army which lodged in the field, received no damage by this sad accident. When the Arabians were informed of this, and when those that hated the Jews, and pleased themselves with aggravating the reports told them of it, they raised their spirits, as if their enemy's country was quite overthrown,

* The reader is here to take notice, that this *seventh* year of the reign of Herod, and all the other years of his reign, in Josephus, are dated from the death of Antigonus, or at the soonest from the conquest of Antigonus, and the taking of Jerusalem a few months before, and never from his first obtaining the kingdom of Rome above three years before, as some have very weakly and injudiciously done.

and the men were utterly destroyed, and thought there now remained nothing that could oppose them. Accordingly, they took the Jewish ambassadors, who came to them after all this had happened, to make peace with them, and slew them, and came with great alacrity against their army: but the Jews durst not withstand them, and were so cast down by the calamities they were under, that they took no care of their affairs, but gave up themselves to despair, for they had no hope that they should be upon a level again with them in battles, nor obtain any assistance elsewhere, while their affairs at home were in such great distress also. When matters were in this condition, the king persuaded the commanders by his words, and tried to raise their spirits, which were quite sunk; and first he endeavoured to encourage and embolden some of the better sort before-hand, and then ventured to make a speech to the multitude, which he had before avoided to do, lest he should find them uneasy thereat, because of the misfortunes which had happened, so he made a consolatory speech to the multitude, in the manner following:

3. "You are not unacquainted, my fellow soldiers, that we "have had not long since, many accidents that have put a stop "to what we are about; and it is probable, that even those that "are most distinguished above others for their courage, can hardly "keep up their spirits in such circumstances; but since we can"not avoid fighting, and nothing that hath happened is of such a "nature but it may by ourselves be recovered into a good state, "and this by one brave action only well performed, I have pro"posed to myself both to give you some encouragement, and, at "the same time, some information, both which parts of my de"sign will tend to this point, that you may still continue in your "own proper fortitude. I will then in the first place, demon"strate to you, that this war is a just one on our side, and that "on this account it is a war of necessity, and occasioned by the "injustice of our adversaries, for if you be once satisfied of this, "it will be a real cause of alacrity to you, after which I will "farther demonstrate, that the misfortunes we are under are "of no great consequence, and that we have the greatest rea"son to hope for victory. I shall begin with the first, and "appeal to yourselves as witnesses to what I shall say. You "are not ignorant certainly of the wickedness of the Ara"bians, which is to that degree as to appear incredible to "all other men, and to include somewhat that shews the gross"est barbarity and ignorance of God. Their chief things "wherein they have affronted us, have arisen from covetous"ness and envy; and they have attacked us in an insidious man"ner, and on the sudden. And what occasion is there for me "to mention many instances of such their procedure? When they

" were in danger of losing their own government of themselves, " and of being slaves to Cleopatra, what others were they that " freed them from that fear? For it was the friendship I had " with Antony, and the kind disposition he was in towards us " that hath been the occasion that even these Arabians have not " been utterly undone, Antony being unwilling to undertake any " thing which might be suspected by us of unkindness: but " when he had a mind to bestow some parts of each of our " dominions on Cleopatra, I also managed that matter so, that " by giving him presents of my own, I might obtain a security " to both nations, while I undertook myself to answer for the " money, and gave him two hundred talents, and became surety " for those two hundred more which were imposed upon the land " that was subject to this tribute: and this they have defrauded us " of, although it was not reasonable that Jews should pay tribute " to any man living, or allow part of their land to be taxable; " but although that was to be, yet ought we not to pay tribute " for these Arabians, whom we have ourselves preserved; nor " is it fit that they, who have professed, and that with great in- " tegrity and sense of our kindness, that it is by our means that " they keep their principality, should injure us, and deprive us " of what is our due, and this while we have been still not their " enemies but their friends. And whereas observation of co- " venants takes place among the bitterest enemies, but among " friends is absolutely necessary, this is not observed among " these men, who think gain to be the best of all things, let it be " by any means whatsoever, and that injustice is no harm, if " they may but get money by it; is it therefore a question with " you, Whether the unjust are to be punished or not? When " God himself hath declared his mind that so it ought to be, and " hath commanded us that we ever should hate injuries and injus- " tice, which is not only just but necessary in wars between se- " veral nations; for these Arabians have done what both the " Greeks and Barbarians own to be an instance of the grossest " wickedness, with regard to our ambassadors, which they have " beheaded, while the Greeks declare that such ambassadors " are * sacred and inviolable. And for ourselves we have learn- " ed from God the most excellent of our doctrines, and the most " holy part of our law by angels, or ambassadors; for this name " brings God to the knowledge of mankind, and is sufficient to " reconcile enemies one to another. What wickedness then can " be greater than the slaughter of ambassadors, who come to

* Herod says here, that as *ambassadors* were sacred, when they carried messages to others, so did the laws of the Jews derive a sacred authority by being delivered from God, by *angels* [or *divine ambassadors*] which is St. Paul's expression, about the same laws, Gal. iii. 19. Heb. ii. 2.

" treat about doing what is right? And when such have been " their actions, how is it possible they can either live securely " in common life, or be successful in war? in my opinion this is " impossible; but perhaps some will say, that what is holy and " what is righteous, is indeed on our side, but the Arabians " are either more courageous, or more numerous than we are. " Now, as to this, in the first place, it is not fit for us to say so, " for with whom is what is righteous, with them is God him- " self; now, where God is, there is both multitude and courage. " But to examine our own circumstances a little, we were con- " querors in the first battle; and when we fought again, they " were not able to oppose us, but ran away, and could not en- " dure our attacks, or our courage; but when we had conquer- " ed them, then came Athenion, and made war against us with- " out declaring it; and pray, is this an instance of their man- " hood? or is it not a second instance of their wickedness and " treachery? Why are we therefore of less courage, on account " of that which ought to inspire us with stronger hopes? and " why are we terrified at these, who, when they fight upon the " level, are continually beaten, and when they seem to be con- " querors, they gain it by wickedness? and if we suppose " that any one should deem them to be men of real courage, will " not he be excited by that very consideration to do his utmost " against them? for true valour is not shewn by fighting against " weak persons, but in being able to overcome the most hardy. " But then, if the distresses we are ourselves under and the mi- " series that hath come by the earthquake, hath affrighted any " one, let him consider in the first place, that this very thing " will deceive the Arabians, by their supposal that what hath " befallen us is greater than it really is. Moreover, it is not " right that the same thing that emboldens them should discour- " age us; for these men, you see, do not derive their alacrity " from any advantageous virtue of their own, but from their " hope, as to us, that we are quite cast down by our misfor- " tunes; but when we boldly march against them, we shall soon " pull down their insolent conceit of themselves, and shall gain " this by attacking them, that they will not be so insolent when " we come to the battle, for our distresses are not so great, nor " is what hath happened an indication of the anger of God " against us, as some imagine, for such things are accidental, and " adversities that come in the usual course of things; and if we " allow that this was done by the will of God, we must al- " low that it is now over by his will also, and that he is satis- " fied with what hath already happened, for had he been willing " to afflict us still more thereby, he had not changed his mind " so soon. And as for the war we are engaged in, he hath him- " self demonstrated, that he is willing it should go on, and that

"he knows it to be a just war; for while some of the people in "the country have perished, all you who were in arms have suffered nothing, but are all preserved alive; whereby God "makes it plain to us, that if you had universally, with your "children and wives, been in the army, it had come to pass, "that you had not undergone any thing that would have much "hurt you. Consider these things, and what is more than all "the rest, that you have God at all times for your protector; "and prosecute these men with a just bravery, who, in point of "friendship are unjust, in their battles perfidious, towards ambassadors impious, and always inferior to you in valour."

4. When the Jews heard this speech, they were much raised in their minds, and more disposed to fight than before. So Herod, when he had * offered the sacrifices appointed by the law, made haste, and took them, and led them against the Arabians; and in order to that passed over Jordan, and pitched his camp near to that of the enemy. He also thought fit to seize upon a certain castle that lay in the midst of them, as hoping it would be for his advantage, and would the sooner produce a battle, and that if there were occasion for delay, he should by it have his camp fortified; and as the Arabians had the same intentions upon that place, a contest arose about it; at first they were but skirmishes, after which there came more soldiers, and it proved a sort of fight, and some fell on both sides, till those of the Arabian side were beaten and retreated. This was no small encouragement to the Jews immediately; and when Herod observed that the enemies' army was disposed to any thing rather than to come to an engagement, he ventured boldly to attempt the bulwark itself, and to pull it to pieces, and so to get nearer to their camp, in order to fight them; for when they were forced out of their trenches, they went out in disorder, and had not the least alacrity, or hope of victory; yet did they fight hand to hand, because they were more in number than the Jews, and because they were in such a disposition of war that they were under a necessity of coming on boldly: so they came to a terrible battle, while not a few fell on each side. However, at length the Ara-

* This piece of religion, the supplicating God with sacrifices, by Herod, before he went to this fight with the Arabians, taken notice of also in the first book of the War, ch. xix. sect. 5. vol. III. is worth remarking, because it is the only example of this nature, so far as I remember, that Josephus ever mentions in all his large and particular accounts of this Herod; and it was when he had been in mighty distress, and discouraged by a great defeat of his former army, and by a very great earthquake in Judea, such times of affliction making men most religious. Nor was he disappointed of his hopes here, but immediately gained a most signal victory over the Arabians, while they who just before had been so great victors, and so much elevated upon the earthquake in Judea as to venture to slay the Jewish ambassadors, were now under a strange consternation, and hardly able to fight at all.

bians fled; and so great a slaughter was made upon their being routed, that they were not only killed by their enemies, but became the authors of their own deaths also, and were trodden down by the multitude, and the great current of people in disorder, and were destroyed by their own armour; so five thousand men lay dead upon the spot, while the rest of the multitude soon ran within the bulwark [for safety], but had no firm hope of safety, by reason of their want of necessaries, and especially of water. The Jews pursued them; but could not get in with them, but sat round about the bulwark, and watched any assistance that would get in to them, and prevented any there, that had a mind to it, from running away.

5. When the Arabians were in these circumstances, they sent ambassadors to Herod, in the first place to propose terms of accommodation, and after that to offer him, so pressing was their thirst upon them, to undergo whatsoever he pleased, if he would free them from their present distress; but he would admit of no ambassadors, of no price of redemption, nor of any other moderate terms whatever, being very desirous to revenge those unjust actions which they had been guilty of towards his nation. So they were necessitated by other motives, and particularly by their thirst, to come out, and deliver themselves up to him, to be carried away captives; and in five days' time, the number of four thousand were taken prisoners, while all the rest resolved to make a sally upon their enemies, and to fight it out with them, choosing rather, if so it must be, to die therein, than to perish gradually and ingloriously. When they had taken this resolution, they came out of their trenches, but could no way sustain the fight, being too much disabled, both in mind and body, and having not room to exert themselves, and thought it an advantage to be killed, and a misery to survive; so at the first onset there fell about seven thousand of them, after which stroke, they let all the courage they had put on before fall, and stood amazed at Herod's warlike spirit under his own calamities; so for the future, they yielded, and made him ruler of their nation; whereupon he was greatly elevated at so seasonable a success, and returned home taking great authority upon him, on account of so bold and glorious an expedition as he had made.

CHAP. VI.

How Herod slew Hyrcanus, and then hasted away to Cæsar, and obtained the kingdom from him also; and how a little time afterward, he entertained Cæsar in a most honourable manner.

§ 1. Herod's other affairs were now very prosperous; and he was not to be easily assaulted on any side. Yet did there

come upon him a danger that would hazard his entire dominions, after Antony had been beaten at the battle of Actium by Cæsar [Octavian]; for at that time both Herod's enemies and friends despaired of his affairs, for it was not probable that he would remain without punishment, who had shewed so much friendship for Antony. So it happened that his friends despaired, and had no hopes of his escape, but for his enemies, they all outwardly appeared to be troubled at his case, but were privately very glad of it, as hoping to obtain a change for the better. As for Herod himself, he saw that there was no one of royal dignity left but Hyrcanus, and therefore he thought it would be for his advantage not to suffer him to be an obstacle in his way any longer; for that in case he himself survived, and escaped the danger he was in, he thought it the safest way to put it out of the power of such a man to make any attempt against him, at such junctures of affairs, as was more worthy of the kingdom than himself; and in case he should be slain by Cæsar, his envy promped him to desire to slay him that would otherwise be king after him.

2. While Herod had these things in his mind, there was a certain occasion afforded him; for Hyrcanus was of so mild a temper, both then and at other times, that he desired not to meddle with public affairs, nor to concern himself with innovations, but left all to fortune, and contented himself with what that afforded him: But Alexandra [his daughter] was a lover of strife and was exceeding desirous of a change of the government, and spake to her father not to bear for ever Herod's injurious treatment of their family, but to anticipate their future hopes, as he safely might; and desired him to write about these matters to Malchus, who was then governor of Arabia, to receive them, and to secure them [from Herod], for that if they went away and Herod's affairs proved to be, as it was likely they would be, by reason of Cæsar's enmity to him, they should then be the only persons that could take the government, and this both on account of the royal family they were of, and on account of the good disposition of the multitude to them. While she used these persuasions, Hyrcanus put off her suit; but as she shewed that she was a woman, and a contentious woman too, and would not desist either night or day, but would always be speaking to him about these matters, and about Herod's treacherous designs, she at last prevailed with him to entrust Dositheus, one of his friends, with a letter, wherein his resolution was declared; and he desired the Arabian governor to send to him some horsemen, who should receive him, and conduct him to the lake Asphaltites, which is from the bounds of Jerusalem three hundred furlongs: and he did therefore trust Dositheus with this letter, because he

was a careful attender on him, and on Alexandra, and had no small occasions to bear ill-will to Herod: for he was a kinsman of one Joseph, whom he had slain, and a brother of those that were formerly slain at Tyre by Antony: yet could not these motives induce Dositheus to serve Hyrcanus in this affair, for preferring the hopes he had from the present king to those he had from him, he gave Herod the letter. So he took his kindness in good part, and bid him besides do what he had already done, that is, go on in serving him, by rolling up the epistle and sealing it again, and delivering it to Malchus, and then to bring back his letter in answer to it; for it would be much better if he could know Malchus's intentions also. And when Dositheus was very ready to serve him in this point also, the Arabian governor returned back for answer, that he would receive Hyrcanus, and all that should come with him, and even all the Jews that were of his party: that he would, moreover, send forces sufficient to secure them in their journey, and that he should be in no want of any thing he should desire. Now as soon as Herod had received this letter, he immediately sent for Hyrcanus, and questioned him about the league he had made with Malchus: and when he denied it, shewed his letter to the sanhedrim, and put the man to death immediately.

3. And this account we give the reader, as it is contained in the commentaries of king Herod: but other historians do not agree with them, for they suppose that Herod did not find, but rather make this an occasion for thus putting him to death, and that by treacherously laying a snare for him; for thus do they write; That Herod and he were once at a treat, and that Herod had given no occasion to suspect [that he was displeased at him], but put this question to Hyrcanus, Whether he had received any letters from Malchus? And when he answered, that he had received letters, but those of salutation only; and when he asked farther, whether he had not received any presents from him? and when he had replied, that he had received no more than four horses to ride on, which Malchus had sent him; and they pretend that Herod charged these upon him as the crimes of bribery and treason, and gave order that he should be led away and slain. And in order to demonstrate that he had been guilty of no offence, when he was thus brought to his end, they alleged how mild his temper had been, and that even in his youth he had never given any demonstration of boldness or rashness, and that the case was the same when he came to be king, but that he even then committed the management of the greatest part of public affairs to Antipater; and that he was now above fourscore years old, and knew that Herod's government was in a secure state. He also came over Euphrates and left those who

greatly honoured him beyond that river, though he were to be entirely under Herod's government, and that it was a most incredible thing that he should enterprise any thing by way of innovation, and not at all agreeable to his temper, but that this was a plot of Herod's contrivance.*

4. And this was the fate of Hyrcanus; and thus did he end his life, after he had endured various and manifold turns of fortune in his lifetime: For he was made high priest of the Jewish nation in the beginning of his mother Alexandra's reign, who held the government nine years; and when, after his mother's death, he took the kingdom himself, and held it three months, he lost it, by the means of his brother Aristobulus. He was then restored by Pompey, and received all sorts of honour from him, and enjoyed them forty years; but when he was again deprived by Antigonus, and was maimed in his body, he was made a captive by the Parthians, and thence returned home again after some time, on account of the hopes that Herod had given him; none of which came to pass according to his expectation, but he still conflicted with many misfortunes through the whole course of his life; and what was the heaviest calamity of all, as we have related already, he came to an end which was undeserved by him. His character appeared to be that of a man of a mild and moderate disposition, and suffered the administration of affairs to be generally done by others under him. He was averse to much meddling with the public, nor had shrewdness enough to govern a kingdom: And both Antipater and Herod came to their greatness by reason of his mildness, and at last he met with such an end from them as was not agreeable either to justice or piety.

5. Now Herod as soon as he had put Hyrcanus out of the way, made haste to Cæsar; and because he could not have any hopes of kindness from him, on account of the friendship he had for Antony, he had a suspicion of Alexandra, lest she should take this opportunity to bring the multitude to a revolt, and introduce a sedition into the affairs of the kingdom; so he committed the care of every thing to his brother Pheroras, and placed his mother Cypros, and his sister [Salome], and the whole family at Massada, and gave him a charge, that if he should hear any sad news about him, he should take care of the government: But as to Mariamne his wife, because of the misunderstanding between her and his sister, and his sister's mother, which made it impossible for them to live together, he placed her at Alexandrium, with Alexandra her mother, and left his treasurer Joseph and Sohemus of Iturea, to take care of that fortress. These two had been very faithful to him from the beginning, and were now left as a guard to the wo-

men. They also had it in charge, that if they should hear any mischief had befallen him, they should kill them both, and as far as they were able, to preserve the kingdom for his sons, and for his brother Pheroras.

6. When he had given them this charge, he made haste to Rhodes, to meet Cæsar; and when he had sailed to that city, he took off his diadem, but remitted nothing else of his usual dignity: And when, upon his meeting him, he desired that he would let him speak to him, he therein exhibited a much more noble specimen of a great soul, for he did not betake himself to supplications, as men usually do upon such occasions, nor offered him any petition, as if he were an offender, but after an undaunted manner, gave an account of what he had done; for he spake thus to Cæsar, That "he had the greatest friendship for "Antony, and did every thing he could that he might attain the "government, That he was not indeed in the army with him, "because the Arabians had diverted him, but that he had sent "him both money and corn, which was but too little in com-"parison of what he ought to have done for him; for, if a man "owns himself to be another's friend, and knows him to be a "benefactor, he is obliged to hazard every thing, to use every "faculty of his soul, every member of his body, and all the "wealth he hath, for him, in which I confess I have been too "deficient. However, I am conscious to myself, that so far I "have done right, that I have not deserted him upon his defeat "at Actium: nor upon the evident change of his fortune have "I transferred my hopes from him to another, but have pre-"served myself, though not as a valuable fellow soldier, yet "certainly as a faitful counsellor to Antony, when I demon-"strated to him that the only way that he had to save himself, "and not to lose all his authority, was to slay Cleopatra; for "when she was once dead, there would be room for him to re-"tain his authority, and rather to bring thee to make a compo-"sition with him, than to continue at enmity any longer. None "of which advices would he attend too, but preferred his own "rash resolutions before them, which have happened unpro-"fitably for him, but profitably for thee. Now therefore in "case thou determinest about me, and my alacrity in serving "Antony, according to thy anger at him, I own there is no "room for me to deny what I have done, nor will I be ashamed "to own, and that publicly too, that I had a great kindness for "him: But if thou wilt put him out of the case, and only ex-"amine how I behave myself to my benefactors in general, and "what a sort of friend I am, thou wilt find by experience that "we shall do and be the same to thyself, for it is but changing "the names, and the firmness of friendship that we shall bear "to thee, will not be disapproved by thee."

7. By this speech, and by his behaviour, which shewed Cæsar the frankness of his mind, he greatly gained upon him, who was himself of a generous and magnificent temper, insomuch that those very actions, which were the foundation of the accusation against him, procured him Cæsar's good will. Accordingly, he restored him his diadem again; and encouraged him to exhibit himself as great a friend to himself as he had been to Antony, and then had him in great esteem. Moreover, he added this, that Quintius Didius had written to him, that Herod had very readily assisted him in the affair of the gladiators. So when he had obtained such a kind reception, and had, beyond all his hopes, procured his crown to be more entirely and firmly settled upon him than ever by Cæsar's donation, as well as by that decree of the Romans, which Cæsar took care to procure for his greater security, he conducted Cæsar on his way to Egypt, and made presents even beyond his ability, to both him and his friends, and in general behaved himself with great magnanimity. He also desired that Cæsar would not put to death one Alexander, who had been a companion of Antony's; but Cæsar had sworn to put him to death, and so he could not obtain that his petition: And now he returned to Judea again with greater honour and assurance than ever, and affrighted those that had expectations to the contrary, as still acquiring from his very dangers greater splendor than before, by the favour of God to him. So he prepared for the reception of Cæsar, as he was going out of Syria to invade Egypt; and when he came, he entertained him at Ptolemais with all royal magnificence. He also bestowed presents on the army, and brought them provisions in abundance. He also proved to be one of Cæsar's most cordial friends, and put the army in array, and rode along with Cæsar, and had an hundred and fifty men, well appointed in all respects, after a rich and sumptuous manner, for the better reception of him and his friends. He also provided them with what they should want, as they passed over the dry desert, insomuch that they lacked neither wine nor water, which last the soldiers stood in the greatest need of, and besides, he presented Cæsar with eight hundred talents, and procured to himself the good will of them all, because he was assisting to them in a much greater and more splendid degree than the kingdom he had obtained could afford, by which means he more and more demonstrated to Cæsar the firmness of his friendship, and his readiness to assist him; and what was of the greatest advantage to him was this, that his liberality came at a seasonable time also: And when they returned again out of Egypt, his assistances were no way inferior to the good offices he had formerly done them.

CHAP. VII.

How Herod slew Sohemus, and Mariamne, and afterward Alexandra, and Costobarus, and his most intimate friends, and at last the sons of Baba also.

§ 1. However, when he came into his kingdom again, he found his house all in disorder, and his wife Mariamne and her mother Alexandra very uneasy; for, as they supposed, what was easy to be supposed, that they were not put into that fortress [Alexandrium] for the security of their persons, but as into a garrison for their imprisonment, and that they had no power over any thing, either of others, or of their own affairs, they were very uneasy; and Mariamne supposing that the king's love to her was but hypocritical, and rather pretended, as advantageous to himself, as real, she looked upon it as fallacious. She also was grieved that he would not allow her any hopes of surviving him, if he should come to any harm himself. She also recollected what commands he had formerly given to Joseph, insomuch that she endeavoured to please her keepers, and especially Sohemus, as well apprised how all was in his power. And at the first Sohemus was faithful to Herod, and neglected none of the things he had given him in charge; but when the women by kind words, and liberal presents, had gained his affections over to them, he was by degrees overcome, and at length discovered to them all the king's injunctions, and this on that account principally, that he did not so much as hope he would come back with the same authority he had before, so that he thought he should both escape any danger from him, and supposed that he did hereby much gratify the women, who were likely not to be overlooked in the settling of the government, nay, that they would be able to make him abundant recompence, since they must either reign themselves, or be very near to him that should reign. He had a further ground of hope also, that though Herod should have all the success he could wish for, and should return again, he could not contradict his wife in what she desired, for he knew that the king's fondness for his wife was inexpressible. These were the motives that drew Sohemus to discover what injunctions had been given him. So Mariamne was greatly displeased to hear that there was no end of the dangers she was under from Herod, and was greatly uneasy at it, and wished that he might obtain no favours [from Cæsar], and esteemed it almost an insupportable task, to live with him any longer: and this she afterward openly declared, without concealing her resentment.

2. And now Herod sailed home with joy, at the unexpected good success he had had: and went first of all, as was proper, to this his wife, and told her, and her only, the good news, as preferring her before the rest, on account of his fondness for her, and the intimacy there had been between them, and saluted her; but so it happened, that as he told her of the good success he had had, she was so far from rejoicing at it, that she rather was sorry for it; nor was she able to conceal her resentments, but, depending on her dignity, and the nobility of her birth, in return for his salutations, she gave a groan, and declared evidently that she rather grieved than rejoiced at his success, and this till Herod was disturbed at her, as affording him not only marks of her suspicion, but evident signs of her dissatisfaction. This much troubled him, to see that this surprising hatred of his wife to him was not concealed, but open; and he took this so ill, and yet was so unable to bear it, on account of the fondness he had for her, that he could not continue long in any one mind, but sometimes was angry at her, and sometimes reconciled himself to her, but by always changing one passion for another, he was still in great uncertainty, and thus was he entangled between hatred and love, and was frequently disposed to inflict punishment on her for her insolence towards him, but being deeply in love with her in his soul, he was not able to get quit of this woman. In short as he would gladly have her punished, so was he afraid lest ere he were aware, he should, by putting her to death, bring an heavier punishment upon himself at the same time.

3. When Herod's sister and mother perceived that he was in this temper with regard to Mariamne, they thought they had now got an excellent opportunity to exercise their hatred against her, and provoked Herod to wrath by telling him such long stories and calumnies about her, as might at once excite his hatred and his jealousy. Now, though he willingly enough heard their words, yet had not he courage enough to do any thing to her, as if he believed them, but still he became worse and worse disposed to her, and these ill passions were more and more inflamed on both sides, while she did not hide her disposition towards him, and he turned his love to her into wrath against her. But when he was just going to put this matter past all remedy, he heard the news that Cæsar was the victor in the war, and that Antony and Cleopatra were both dead, and that he had conquered Egypt, whereupon he made haste to go to meet Cæsar, and left the affairs of his family in their present state. However Mariamne recommended Sohemus to him, as he was setting out on his journey, and professed that she owed him thanks for the care he had taken of her, and asked of the king for him a place in the government; upon which an honourable

employment was bestowed upon him accordingly. Now, when Herod was come into Egypt, he was introduced to Cæsar with great freedom, as already a friend of his, and received very great favours from him; for he made him a present of those four hundred Galatians who had been Cleopatra's guards, and restored that country to him again, which by her means, had been taken away from him. He also added to his kingdom, Gadara, Hippos, and Samaria: and, besides those, the maritime cities, Gaza, and Anthedon, and Joppa, and Strato's Tower.

4. Upon these new acquisitions, he grew more magnificent, and conducted Cæsar as far as Antioch; but upon his return, as much as his prosperity was augmented by the foreign additions that had been made him, so much the greater were the distresses that came upon him in his own family, and chiefly in the affair of his wife, wherein he formerly appeared to have been most of all fortunate; for the affection he had for Mariamne was no way inferior to the affections of such as are on that account celebrated in history, and this very justly. As for her, she was in other respects a chaste woman, and faithful to him; yet had she somewhat of a woman rough by nature, and treated her husband imperiously enough, because she saw he was so fond of her as to be enslaved to her. She did not also consider seasonably with herself that she lived under a monarchy, and that she was at another's disposal, and accordingly would behave herself after a saucy manner to him, which yet he usually put off in a jesting way, and bore with moderation and good temper. She would also expose his mother and his sister openly, on account of the meanness of their birth, and would speak unkindly of them, insomuch, that there was before this a disagreement and unpardonable hatred among the women, and it was now come to greater reproaches of one another than formerly, which suspicions increased, and lasted a whole year after Herod returned from Cæsar. However, these misfortunes, which had been kept under some decency for a great while, burst out all at once upon such an occasion as was now offered; for as the king was one day about noon lain down on his bed to rest him, he called for Mariamne, out of the great affection he had always for her. She came in accordingly, but would not lie down by him: and when he was very desirous of her company, she shewed her contempt of him; and added by way of reproach, that he had caused * her

* Whereas Mariamne is here represented as reproaching Herod with the murder of her *father* [Alexander], as well as her *brother* [Aristobulus], while it was her grandfather Hyrcanus, and not her father Alexander, whom he caused to be slain, (as Josephus himself informs us, ch. vi. § 2.) we must either take Zonora's reading, which is here *grandfather* rightly, or else we must, as before, ch. i. sect. 1. allow a slip of Josephus's pen, or memory, in the place before us.

father and her brother to be slain. And when he took this injury very unkindly, and was ready to use violence to her, in a precipitate manner, the king's sister Salome, observing that he was more than ordinarily disturbed, sent into the king his cup-bearer, who had been prepared long before-hand for such a design, and bid him tell the king, how Mariamne had persuaded him to give his assistance in preparing a love potion for him; and if he appear to be greatly concerned, and to ask what that love potion was? to tell him, that she had the potion, and that he was desired only to give it him: but that in case he did not appear to be much concerned at this potion, to let the thing drop, and that if he did so, no harm should thereby come to him. When she had given him these instructions, she sent him in at this time to make such a speech. So he went in, after a composed manner, to gain credit to what he should say, and yet somewhat hastily, and said, that "Mariamne had given him presents, and persuaded him to "give him a love potion." And when this moved the king, he said, that "this love potion was a composition that she had "given him whose effects he did not know, which was the reason "of his resolving to give him this information, as the safest "course he could take, both for himself and for the king." When Herod heard what he said, and was in an ill disposition before, his indignation grew more violent: and he ordered that eunuch of Mariamne's who was most faithful to her, to be brought to torture about this potion, as well knowing it was not possible that any thing small or great could be done without him. And when the man was under the utmost agonies, he could say nothing concerning the thing he was tortured about, but so far he knew that Mariamne's hatred against him was occasioned by somewhat that Sohemus had said to her. Now, as he was saying this, Herod cried out aloud, and said, that "Sohemus, who "had been at all other times most faithful to him, and to his go- "vernment, would not have betrayed what injunctions he had "given him; unless he had had a nearer conversation than ordin- "ary with Mariamne." So he gave order that Sohemus should be seized on and slain immediately; but he allowed his wife to take her trial: and got together those that were most faithful to him, and laid an elaborate accusation against her for this love potion and composition, which had been charged upon her by way of calumny only. However, he kept no temper in what he said, and was in too great a passion for judging well about this matter. Accordingly, when the court was at length satisfied that he was so resolved, they passed the sentence of death upon her: but when the sentence was passed upon her, this temper was suggested by himself, and by some others of the court, that she should not be thus hastily put to death, but be laid in prison in one of

the fortresses belonging to the kingdom; but Salome and her party laboured hard to have the woman put to death; and they prevailed with the king to do so, and advised this out of caution, lest the multitude should be tumultuous if she were suffered to live; and thus was Mariamne led to execution.

5. When Alexandra observed how things went, and that there were small hopes that she herself should escape the like treatment from Herod, she changed her behaviour to quite the reverse of what might have been expected from her former boldness, and this after a very indecent manner: for out of her desire to shew how entirely ignorant she was of the crimes laid against Mariamne, she leaped out of her place, and reproached her daughter in the hearing of all the people: and cried out, That "she had "been an ill woman and ungrateful to her husband, and that "her punishment came justly upon her, for such her insolent "behaviour, for that she had not made proper returns to him "who had been their common benefactor." And when she had for somet ime acted after this hypocritical manner, and been so outrageous as to tear her hair, this indecent and dissembling behaviour, as was to be expected, was greatly condemned by the rest of the spectators, as it was principally by the poor woman who was to suffer; for at the first she gave her not a word, nor was discomposed at her peevishness, and only looked at her, yet did she out of a greatness of soul discover her concern for her mother's offence, and especially for her exposing herself in a manner so unbecoming her; but as for herself, she went to her death with an unshaken firmness of mind, and without changing the colour of her face, and thereby evidently discovered the nobility of her descent to the spectators, even in the last moments of her life.

6. And thus died Mariamne; a woman of an excellent character, both for chastity and greatness of soul; but she wanted moderation, and had too much of contention in her nature, yet had she all that can be said in the beauty of her body, and her majestic appearance in conversation; and thence arose the greatest part of the occasions why she did not prove so agreeable to the king, nor live so pleasantly with him, as she might otherwise have done; for while she was most indulgently used by the king, out of his fondness to her, and did not expect that he could do any hard thing to her, she took too unbounded a liberty. Moreover, that which most afflicted her was, what he had done to her relations, and she ventured to speak of all they had suffered by him, and at last greatly provoked both the king's mother, and sister, till they became enemies to her; and even he himself also did the same, on whom alone she depended for her expectations of escaping the last of punishments.

7. But when she was once dead, the king's affections for her were kindled in a more outrageous manner than before, whose old passion for her we have already described: for his love to her was not of a calm nature, nor such as we usually meet with among other husbands, for at its commencement it was of an enthusiastic kind, nor was it by their long cohabitation and free conversation together, brought under his power to manage; but at this time his love to Mariamne seemed to seize him in such a peculiar manner, as looked like divine vengeance upon him, for the taking away her life, for he would frequently call for her, and frequently lament for her in a most indecent manner. Moreover, he bethought him of every thing he could make use of to divert his mind from thinking of her, and contrived feasts and assemblies for that purpose, but nothing would suffice; he therefore laid aside the administration of public affairs, and was so far conquered by his passion, that he would order his servants to call for Mariamne, as if she were still alive, and could still hear them. And when he was in this way, there arose a pestilential disease, and carried off the greatest part of the multitude, and of his best and most esteemed friends, and made all men suspect that this was brought upon them by the anger of God, for the injustice that had been done to Mariamne. This circumstance affected the king still more, till at length he forced himself to go into desert places, and there, under pretence of going a hunting, bitterly afflicted himself; yet had he not borne his grief there many days before he fell into a most dangerous distemper himself: He had an inflammation upon him, and a pain in the hinder part of his head, joined with madness: and for the remedies that were used, they did him no good at all, but proved contrary to his case, and so at length brought him to despair. All the physicians also that were about him, partly because the medicines they brought for his recovery could not at all conquer the disease, and partly because his diet could be no other than what his disease inclined him to, desired him to eat whatever he had a mind to, and so left the small hopes they had of his recovery in the power of that diet, and committed him to fortune. And thus did his distemper go on, while he was at Samaria, now called *Sebaste*.

8. Now Alexandra abode at this time in Jerusalem, and being informed what condition Herod was in, she endeavoured to get possession of the fortified places that were about the city, which were two, the one belonging to the city itself, the other belonging to the temple; and those that could get them into their hands had the whole nation under their power, for without the command of them it was not possible to offer their sacrifices; and to think of leaving off those sacrifices, is to every Jew plain-

ly impossible, who are still more ready to lose their lives than to leave off that divine worship which they have been wont to pay unto God. Alexandra, therefore, discoursed with those that had the keeping of these strong holds, that it was proper for them to deliver the same to her, and to Herod's sons lest upon his death, any other person should seize upon the government; and that upon his recovery none could keep them more safely for him than those of his own family. These words were not by them at all taken in good part; and as they had been in former times faithful [to Herod], they resolved to continue so more than ever, both because they hated Alexandra, and because they thought it a sort of impiety to despair of Herod's recovery while he was yet alive, for they had been his old friends; and one of them, whose name was *Achiabus*, was his cousin-german. They sent messengers therefore to acquaint him with Alexandra's design; so he made no longer delay, but gave orders to have her slain; yet was it still with difficulty, and after he had endured great pain, that he got clear of his distemper. He was still sorely afflicted both in mind and body, and made very uneasy, and readier than ever upon all occasions to inflict punishment upon those that fell under his hand. He also slew the most intimate of his friends, Costobarus, and Lysimachus, and Gadias, who was also called *Antipater*; as also Dositheus, and that upon the following occasion.

9. Costobarus was an Idumean by birth, and one of principal dignity among them, and one whose ancestors had been priests to the Kose, whom the Idumeans had [formerly] esteemed as a god; but after Hyrcanus had made a change in their political government, and made them receive the Jewish customs, and law, Herod made Costobarus governor of Idumea and Gaza, and gave him his sister Salome to wife; and this was upon his slaughter of [his uncle] Joseph, who had that government before, as we have related already. When Costobarus had gotten to be so highly advanced, it pleased him, and was more than he hoped for, and he was more and more puffed up by his good success, and in a little while he exceeded all bounds, and did not think fit to obey what Herod as their ruler, commanded him, or that the Idumeans should make use of the Jewish customs, or be subject to them. He therefore sent to Cleopatra, and informed her that the Idumeans had been always under his progenitors, and that for the same reason it was but just that she should desire that country for him of Antony, for that he was ready to transfer his friendship to her; and this he did, not because he was better pleased to be under Cleopatra's government, but because he thought that, upon the diminution of Herod's power, it would not be difficult for him to obtain himself the entire government over the Idumeans, and somewhat more also; for he raised his

hopes still higher, as having no small pretences, both by his birth and by these riches, which he had gotten by his constant attention to filthy lucre; and accordingly it was not a small matter that he aimed at. So Cleopatra desired this country of Antony, but failed of her purpose. An account of this was brought to Herod, who was thereupon ready to kill Costobarus, yet upon the entreaties of his sister and mother, he forgave him, and vouchsafed to pardon him entirely, though he still had a suspicion of him afterward for this his attempt.

10. But some time afterward, when Salome happened to quarrel with Costobarus, she * sent him a bill of divorce, and dissolved her marriage with him, though this was not according to the Jewish laws; for with us it is lawful for an husband to do so, but a wife, if she departs from her husband, cannot of herself be married to another, unless her former husband put her away. However, Salome chose to follow not the law of her country, but the law of her authority, and so renounced her wedlock: and told her brother Herod, that she left her husband out of her good will to him, because she perceived that he, with Antipater and Lysimachus, and Dositheus, were raising a sedition against him: as an evidence whereof, she alleged the case of the sons of Babas, that they had been by him preserved alive already for the interval of twelve years; which proved to be true. But when Herod thus unexpectedly heard of it, he was greatly surprised at it, and was the more surprised, because the relation appeared incredible to him. As for the fact relating to these sons of Babas, Herod had formerly taken great pains to bring them to punishment, as being enemies to his government, but they were now forgotten by him, on account of the length of time [since he had ordered them to be slain]. Now, the cause of his ill-will and hatred to them arose hence, that while Anti-

* Here is a plain example of a Jewish lady giving a bill of divorce to her husband, though in the days of Josephus it was not esteemed lawful for a woman so to do. See the like among the Parthians, Antiq. B. XVIII. ch. ix. § 6.—However, the Christian law, when it allowed divorce for adultery, Matth. v. 32. allowed the innocent wife to divorce her guilty husband, as well as the innocent husband to divorce his guilty wife, as we learn from the shepherd of Hermes, Mand. B. IV. and from the second apology of Justin Martyr, where a persecution was brought upon the Christians upon such a divorce; and I think the Roman laws permitted it at that time, as well as the laws of Christianity. Now this Babas, who was one of the race of the Asamoneans or Maccabees, as the latter end of this section informs us, is related by the Jews, as Dr. Hudson here remarks, to have been so eminently religious in the Jewish way, that the day following the 10th of Tisri, the great day of atonement, when he seems to have supposed all his sins entirely forgiven, he used every day of the whole year to offer a sacrifice for his sins of ignorance, or such as he supposed he had been guilty of, but did not distinctly remember. See somewhat like it of Agrippa the Great, Antiq. B. XIX. ch. iii. § 3. vol. III. and Job i. 4, 5.

gonus was king, Herod with his army, besieged the city of Jerusalem, where the distress and miseries which the besieged endured, were so pressing, that the greater number of them invited Herod into the city, and already placed their hopes on him. Now, the sons of Babas were of great dignity, and had power among the multitude, and were faithful to Antigonus, and were always raising calumnies against Herod, and encouraged the people to preserve the government to that royal family which held it by inheritance. So these men acted thus politically, and, as they thought, for their own advantage; but when the city was taken, and Herod had gotten the government into his hands, and Costobarus was appointed to hinder men from passing out at the gates, and to guard the city, that those citizens that were guilty, and of the party opposite to the king, might not get out of it, Costobarus being sensible that the sons of Babas were had in respect and honour by the whole multitude, and supposing that their preservation might be of great advantage to him in the changes of government afterward, he set them by themselves, and concealed them in his own farms; and when the thing was suspected; he assured Herod upon oath that he really knew nothing of that matter, and so overcame the suspicions that lay upon him; nay, after that, when the king had publicly proposed a reward for the discovery, and had put in practice all sorts of methods for searching out this matter, he would not confess it, but being persuaded that when he had at first denied it, if the men were found, he should not escape unpunished, he was forced to keep them secret, not only out of his good-will to them, but out of a necessary regard to his own preservation also: But when the king knew the thing, by his sister's information, he sent men to the places where he had the intimation they were concealed, and ordered both them, and those that were accused as guilty with them, to be slain, insomuch that there were now none at all left of the kindred of Hyrcanus, and the kingdom was entirely in Herod's own power, and there was nobody remaining of such dignity as could put a stop to what he did against the Jewish laws.

CHAP. VIII.

How ten men of the citizens [of Jerusalem] made a conspiracy against Herod, for the foreign practices he had introduced, which was a transgression of the laws of their country. Concerning the building of Sebaste and Cesarea, and other edifices of Herod.

§ 1. ON this account it was that Herod revolted from the laws of his country, and corrupted their ancient constitution,

by the introduction of foreign practices, which constitution yet ought to have been preserved inviolable; by which means we became guilty of great wickedness afterward, while those religious observances which used to lead the multitude to piety, were now neglected: for, in the first place, he appointed solemn games to be celebrated every fifth year, in honour of Cæsar, and built a theatre at Jerusalem, as also a very great amphitheatre in the plain. Both of them were indeed costly works, but opposite to the Jewish customs; for we have had no such shows delivered down to us as fit to be used or exhibited by us; yet did he celebrate these games every five years, in the most solemn and splendid manner. He also made proclamation to the neighbouring countries, and called men together out of every nation. The wrestlers also, and the rest of those that strove for the prizes in such games, were invited out of every land, both by the hopes of the rewards there to be bestowed, and by the glory of victory to be there gained. So the principal persons that were the most eminent in these sorts of exercises, were gotten together, for there were very great rewards for victory proposed, not only to those that performed their exercises naked, but to those that played the musicians also, and were called *Thymelici;* but he spared no pains to induce all persons, the most famous for such exercises, to come to this contest for victory.—He also promised no small rewards for those who ran for the prizes in chariot races, when they were drawn by two, or three, or four pair of horses. He also imitated every thing, though never so costly or magnificent, in other nations, out of an ambition that he might give most public demonstration of his grandeur. Inscriptions also of the great actions of Cæsar, and trophies of those nations which he had conquered in his wars, and all made of the purest gold and silver, encompassed the theatre itself: Nor was there any thing that could be subservient to his design, whether it were precious garments, or precious stones set in order, which was not also exposed to sight in these games. He had also made a great preparation of wild beasts, and of lions themselves in great abundance, and of such other beasts as were either of uncommon strength, or of such a sort as were rarely seen. These were prepared either to fight with one another, or that men who were condemned to death, were to fight with them. And truly foreigners were greatly surprised and delighted at the vastness of the expenses here exhibited, and at the great dangers that were here seen; * but to natural Jews;

* These grand plays and shows, and *thymelici,* or music meetings, and chariot races, when the chariots were drawn by two, three, or four pair of horses, &c. instituted by Herod in his theatres, were still, as we see here, looked on by the sober Jews as heathenish sports, and tending to corrupt the manners of the Jewish nation

this was no better than a dissolution of those customs for which they had so great a veneration. It appeared also no better than an instance of barefaced impiety, to throw men to wild beasts, for the affording delight to the spectators, and it appeared an instance of no less impiety, to change their own laws for such foreign exercises: but, above all the rest, the trophies gave most distaste to the Jews, for as they imagined them to be images, included within the armour that hung round about them, they were sorely displeased at them, because it was not the custom of their country to pay honours to such images.

2. Nor was Herod unacquainted with the disturbance they were under; and as he thought it unseasonable to use violence with them, so he spake to some of them by way of consolation, and in order to free them from that superstitious fear they were under; yet could not he satisfy them, but they cried out with one accord, out of their great uneasiness at the offences they thought he had been guilty of, that although they should think of bearing all the rest, yet would they never bear images of men in their city, meaning the trophies, because this was disagreeable to the laws of their country. Now when Herod saw them in such a disorder, and that they would not easily change their resolution unless they received satisfaction in this point, he called to him the most eminent men among them, and brought them upon the theatre, and shewed them the trophies, and asked them, what sort of things they took these trophies to be? And when they cried out, that they were the images of men, he gave order that they should be stripped of these outward ornaments which were about them, and shewed them the naked pieces of wood; which pieces of wood, now without any ornament, became matter of great sport and laughter to them, because they had before always had the ornaments of images themselves in derision.

3. When therefore Herod had thus got clear of the multitude, and had dissipated the vehemency of passion under which they had been, the greatest part of the people were disposed to change their conduct, and not to be displeased at him any longer; but still some of them continued in their displeasure against him, for his introduction of new customs, and esteemed the violation of the laws of their country as likely to be the origin of very great mischiefs to them, so that they deemed it an instance of piety rather to hazard themselves [to be put to death], than to seem

and to bring them in love with Paganish idolatry, and Paganish conduct of life, but to the dissolution of the law of Moses, and accordingly were greatly and justly condemned by them, as appears here and every where else in Josephus. Nor is the case of our modern masquerades, plays, operas, and the like *pomps and vanities of this wicked world*, of any better tendency under Christianity.

as if they took no notice of Herod, who, upon the change he had made in their government, introduced such customs, and that in a violent manner, which they had never been used to before; as indeed in pretence a king, but in reality one that shewed himself an enemy to their whole nation; on which account ten men that were citizens [of Jerusalem], conspired together against him, and sware to one another to undergo any dangers in the attempt, and took daggers with them under their garments, [for the purpose of killing Herod]. Now there was a certain blind man among those conspirators, who had thus sworn to one another, on account of the indignation he had against what he heard to have been done; he was not indeed able to afford the rest any assistance in the undertaking, but was ready to undergo any suffering with them, if so be they should come to any harm, insomuch, that he became a very great encourager of the rest of the undertakers.

4. When they had taken this resolution, and that by common consent, they went into the theatre, hoping that, in the first place, Herod himself could not escape them, as they should fall upon him so unexpectedly; and supposing, however, that if they missed him, they should kill a great many of those that were about him; and this resolution they took, though they should die for it, in order to suggest to the king, what injuries he had done to the multitude. These conspirators, therefore, standing thus prepared before-hand, went about their design with great alacrity; but there was one of those spies of Herod's, that were appointed for such purposes, to fish out and inform him of any conspiracies that should be made against him, who found out the whole affair, and told the king of it, as he was about to go into the theatre. So when he reflected on the hatred which he knew the greatest part of the people bore him, and on the disturbances that arose upon every occasion, he thought this plot against him not to be improbable. Accordingly he retired into his palace, and called those that were accused of this conspiracy before him by their several names; and as upon the guards' falling upon them, they were caught in the very fact, and knew they could not escape, they prepared themselves for their ends with all the decency they could, and so as not at all to recede from their resolute behaviour, for they shewed no shame for what they were about, nor denied it, but when they were seized, they shewed their daggers, and professed, that "the conspiracy they had "sworn to was an holy and an pious action; that what they intended to do was not for gain, or out of any indulgence to "their passions, but principally for those common customs of "their country, which all the Jews were obliged to observe, or "to die for them." This was what these men said, out of their

undaunted courage in this conspiracy. So they were led away to execution by the king's guards that stood about them, and patiently underwent all the torments inflicted on them till they died. Nor was it long before that spy who had discovered them was seized on by some of the people, out of the hatred they bore to him, and was not only slain by them, but pulled to pieces limb from limb, and given to the dogs. This execution was seen by many of the citizens, yet would not one of them discover the doers of it, till upon Herod's making a strict scrutiny after them, by bitter and severe tortures, certain women that were tortured, confessed what they had seen done: the authors of which fact were so terribly punished by the king, that their entire families were destroyed for this their rash attempt, yet did not the obstinacy of the people, and that undaunted constancy they shewed in the defence of their laws, make Herod any easier to them, but he still strengthened himself after a more secure manner, and resolved to encompass the multitude every way, lest such innovations should end in an open rebellion.

5. Since, therefore, he had now the city fortified by the palace in which he lived, and by the temple, which had a strong fortress by it, called Antonia, and was re-built by himself, he contrived to make Samaria a fortress for himself also against all the people, and called it Sebaste, supposing that this place would be a strong hold against the country, not inferior to the former. So he fortified that place, which was a day's journey distant from Jerusalem, and which would be useful to him in common, to keep both the country and the city in awe. He also built another fortress for the whole nation; it was of old called Strato's Tower, but was by him named Cæsarea. Moreover, he chose out some select horsemen, and placed them in the great plain; and built [for them] a place in Gallilee called Gaba, with Hesebonitis, in Perea. And these were the places which he particularly built, while he always inventing somewhat farther for his own security, and encompassing the whole nation with guards, that they might by no means get from under his power, nor fall into tumults, which they did continually upon any small commotion; and that if they did make any commotions he might know of it, while some of his spies might be upon them from the neighbourhood, and might both be able to know what they were attempting, and to prevent it. And when he went about building the wall of Samaria, he contrived to bring thither many of those that had been assisting to him in his wars, and many of the people in that neighbourhood also, whom he made fellow-citizens with the rest. This he did out of an ambitious desire of building a temple, and out of a desire to make the city more eminent than it had been before, but principally be-

cause he contrived that it might at once be for his own security, and a monument of his magnificence. He also changed its name, and called it Sebaste. Moreover, he parted the adjoining country, which was excellent in its kind, among the inhabitants of Samaria, that they might be in an happy condition, upon their first coming to inhabit. Besides all which, he encompassed the city with a wall of great strength, and made use of the acclivity of the place for making its fortifications stronger; nor was the compass of the place made now so small as it had been before, but was such as rendered it not inferior to the most famous cities; for it was twenty furlongs in circumference. Now within and about the middle of it, he built a sacred place, of a furlong and a half [in circuit], and adorned it with all sorts of decorations, and therein erected a temple, which was illustrious on account of both its largeness and beauty. And as to the several parts of the city, he adorned them with decorations of all sorts also: and as to what was necessary to provide for his own security, he made the walls very strong for that purpose, and made it for the greatest part a citadel; and as to the elegance of the building, it was taken care of also, that he might leave monuments of the fineness of his taste, and of his beneficence, to future ages.

CHAP. IX.

Concerning the famine that happened in Judea and Syria; and how Herod, after he had married another wife, rebuilt Cesarea, and other Grecian cities.

§ 1. Now on this very year, which was the thirteenth year of the reign of Herod, very great calamities came upon the country; whether they were derived from the anger of God or, * whether this misery returns again naturally in certain periods of time; for in the first place there were perpetual droughts, and for that reason the ground was barren, and did not bring forth the same quantity of fruits that it used to produce; and after this barrenness of the soil, that change of food which the want of corn occasioned, produced distempers in the bodies of men, and a pestilential disease prevailed, one misery following upon the back of another: and the circumstances, that they

* Here we have an eminent example of the language of Josephus in his writing to Gentiles, different from that when he wrote to Jews; in his writing to whom he still derives all such judgments from the anger of God; but because he knew many of the Gentiles thought they might naturally come in certain periods, he complies with them in the following sentence. See the note on the War, B. I. ch. xxxiii. § 2.

were destitute both of methods of cure and of food, made the pestilential distemper, which began after a violent manner, the more lasting. The destruction of men also after such a manner deprived those that survived of all their courage, because they had no way to provide remedies sufficient for the distresses they were in. When therefore the fruits of that year were spoiled, and whatsoever they had laid up before-hand was spent, there was no foundation of hope for relief remaining, but the misery contrary to what they expected, still encreased upon them; and this not only at that year, while they had nothing for themselves left [at the end of it], but what seed they had sown perished also, by reason of the ground not yielding its fruits on the * second year. This distress they were in made them also, out of necessity, to eat many things that did not use to be eaten; nor, was the king himself free from this distress any more than other men, as being deprived of that tribute he used to have from the fruits of the ground, and having already expended what money he had, in his liberality to those whose cities he had built; nor had he any people that were worthy of his assistance, since this miserable state of things had procured him the hatred of his subjects, for it is a constant rule, that misfortunes are still laid to the account of those that govern.

2. In these circumstances he considered with himself how to procure some seasonable help; but this was a hard thing to be done, while their neighbours had no food to sell them, and their money also was gone, had it been possible to purchase a little food at a great price. However, he thought it his best way, by all means, not to leave off his endeavours to assist his people; so he cut off the rich furniture that was in his palace, both of silver and gold, insomuch that he did not spare the finest vessels he had, or those that were made with the most elaborate skill of the artificers, but sent the money to Petronius, who had been made prefect of Egypt by Cæsar; and as not a few had already fled to him under their necessities and as he was particularly a friend to He-

* This famine for two years that affected Judea and Syria the 13th and 14th years of Herod, which are the 23d and 24th years before the Christian æra, seems to have been more terrible during this time than was that in the days of Jacob, Gen. xli. xlii. And what makes the comparison the more remarkable is this, that now as well as then, the relief they had was from Egypt also; then from Joseph the governor of Egypt, under Pharoah king of Egypt, and now from Petronius the prefect of Egypt, under Augustus the Roman emperor. See almost the like case, Antiq. B. XX. chap. ii. § 6. vol. III. It is also well worth our observation here, that these two years were a sabbatic year, and a year of jubilee, for which Providence during the theocracy, used to provide a treple crop before hand, but became now, when the Jews had forfeited that blessing, the greatest years of famine to them ever since the days of Ahab, 1 Kings, xvii. xviii.

rod, and desirous to have his subjects preserved, he gave leave to them in the first place to export corn, and assisted them every way both in purchasing and exporting the same, so that he was the principal, if not the only person, who afforded them what help they had. And Herod taking care the people should understand that this help came from himself, did thereby not only remove from him the ill opinion of those that formerly hated him, but gave them the greatest demonstration possible of his good-will to them, and care of them; for, in the first place, as for those who were able to provide their own food, he distributed to them their proportion of corn in the exactest manner, but for those many that were not able, either by reason of their old age, or any other infirmity, to provide food for themselves, he made this provision for them, that the bakers should make the bread ready for them. He also took care that they might not be hurt by the dangers of winter, since they were in great want of clothing also, by reason of the utter destruction and consumption of their sheep and goats, till they had no wool to make use of, nor any thing else to cover themselves withal. And when he had procured these things for his own subjects, he went farther, in order to provide necessaries for their neighbours, and gave seed to the Syrians, which thing turned greatly to his own advantage also, this charitable assistance being afforded most seasonably to their fruitful soil, so that every one had now a plentiful provision of food. Upon the whole, when the harvest of the land was approaching, he sent no fewer than fifty thousand men, whom he had sustained, into the country; by which means he both repaired the afflicted condition of his own kingdom with great generosity and diligence, and lightened the afflictions of his neighbours, who were under the same calamities, for there was nobody who had been in want that was left destitute of a suitable assistance by him: nay, farther, there were neither any people, nor any cities, nor any private men, who were to make provision for the multitudes, and on that account were in want of support, and had recourse to him, but received what they stood in need of, insomuch, that it appeared upon a computation, that the number of cori of wheat, of ten attick medimni a-piece, that were given to foreigners, amounted to ten thousand, and the number that was given in his own kingdom was about fourscore thousand. Now it happened that this care of his, and this seasonable benefaction, had such influence on the Jews, and was so cried up among other nations, as to wipe off that old hatred which his violation of some of their customs, during his reign, had procured him among all the nation; and that this liberality of his assistance in this their greatest necessity was full satisfaction for all that he had done of that nature, as it also procured him great fame

among foreigners: and it looked as if these calamities that afflicted his land to a degree plainly incredible, came in order to raise his glory, and to be to his great advantage, for the greatness of his liberality in these distresses, which he now demonstrated beyond all expectation, did so change the disposition of the multitude towards him, that they were ready to suppose he had been from the beginning not such an one as they had found him to be by experience, but such an one as the care he had taken of them in supplying their necessities proved him now to be.

3. About this time it was that he sent five hundred chosen men out of the guards of his body as auxiliaries to Cæsar, whom* Ælius Gallus led to the Red Sea, and who were of great service to him there. When therefore his affairs were thus improved, and were again in a flourishing condition, he built himself a palace in the upper city, raising the rooms to a very great height, and adorning them with the most costly furniture of gold, and marble seats and beds, and these were so large, that they could contain very many companies of men. These apartments were also of distinct magnitudes, and had particular names given them, for one apartment was called Cæsar's, another Agrippa's. He also fell in love again, and married another wife, not suffering his reason to hinder him from living as he pleased. The occasion of this his marriage was as follows: There was one *Simon*, a citizen of Jerusalem, the son of one Boethus, a citizen of Alexandria, and a priest of great note there: this man had a daughter, who was esteemed the most beautiful woman of that time; and when the people of Jerusalem began to speak much in her commendation, it happened that Herod was much affected with what was said of her; and when he saw the damsel, he was smitten with her beauty, yet did he entirely reject the thoughts of using his authority to abuse her, as believing, what was the truth, that by so doing he should be stigmatized for violence and tyranny, so he thought it best to take the damsel to wife.—And while Simon was of a dignity too inferior to be allied to him, but still too considerable to be despised, he governed his inclinations after the most prudent manner, by augmenting the dignity of the family, and making them more honourable; so he immediately deprived Jesus, the son of Phabet, of the high priesthood, and conferred that dignity on Simon, and so joined in affinity with him [by marrying his daughter].

4. When this wedding was over, he built another citadel in

* This Ælius Gallus seems to be no other than that Ælius Largus whom Dio speaks of as conducting an expedition that was about this time made into Arabia Felix, according to Petavius, who is here cited by Spanheim. See a full account of this expedition in Prideaux, at the years 25 and 24.

that place where he had conquered the Jews when he was driven out of his government, and Antigonus enjoyed it. This citadel is distant from Jerusalem about threescore furlongs. It was strong by nature, and fit for such a building. It is a sort of a moderate hill, raised to a farther height by the hand of man, till it was of the shape of a woman's breast. It is encompassed with circular towers, and hath a strait ascent up to it, which ascent is composed of steps of polished stones, in number two hundred. Within it are royal and very rich apartments, of a structure that provided both for security and for beauty. About the bottom there are habitations of such a structure as are well worth seeing, both on other accounts, and also on account of the water which is brought thither from a great way off, and at vast expences, for the place itself is destitute of water. The plain that is about this citadel is full of edifices; not inferior to any city in largeness, and having the hill above it in the nature of a castle.

5. And now when all Herod's designs had succeeded according to his hopes, he had not the least suspicion that any troubles could arise in his kingdom, because he kept his people obedient, as well by the fear they stood in of him, for he was implacable in the infliction of his punishments, as by the provident care he had shewed towards them, after the most magnanimous manner, when they were under their distresses: But still he took care to have external security for his government as a fortress against his subjects; for the orations he made to the cities were very fine, and full of kindness, and he cultivated a seasonable good understanding with their governors, and bestowed presents on every one of them, inducing them thereby to be more friendly to him, and using his magnificent disposition, so as his kingdom might be the better secured to him, and this till all his affairs were every way more and more augmented. But then, this magnificent temper of his, and that submissive behaviour and liberality which he exercised towards Cæsar and the most powerful men of Rome, obliged him to transgress the customs of his nation, and to set aside many of their laws, and by building cities after an extravagant manner, and erecting temples;* not in Judea indeed, for that

* One may here take notice, that how tyrannical and extravagant soever Herod were in himself, and in his Grecian cities, as to those plays, and shews, and temples for idolatry, mentioned above, ch. viii. sect. 1. and here also, yet durst even he introduce very few of them into the cities of the Jews, who as Josephus here notes, would not even then have borne them, so zealous were they still for many of the laws of Moses, even under so tyrannical a government as this was of Herod the Great; which tyrannical government puts me naturally in mind of Dean Prideaux's honest reflection upon the like ambition, after such tyrannical power in Pompey and Cæsar; "One of these, [says he, at "the year 60], could not bear an equal, nor the other a superior; and through "this ambitious humour and thirst after more power in these two men, the

would not have been borne, it being forbidden for us to pay any honour to images, or representations of animals, after the manner of the Greeks, but still he did thus in the country [properly] out of our bounds, and in the cities thereof. The apology which he made to the Jews for these things was this, that all was done, not out of his own inclinations, but by the commands and injunctions of the others, in order to please Cæsar, and the Romans, as though he had not the Jewish customs so much in his eye as he had the honour of those Romans, while yet he had himself entirely in view all the while, and indeed was very ambitious to leave great monuments of his government to posterity; whence it was that he was so zealous in building such fine cities, and spent such vast sums of money upon them.

6. Now upon his observation of a place near the sea, which was very proper for containing a city, and was before called Strato's Tower, he set about getting a plan for a magnificent city there, and erected many edifices with great diligence all over it, and this of white stone. He also adorned it with most sumptuous palaces, and large edifices for containing the people; and what was the greatest and most laborious work of all, he adorned it with an haven; that was always free from the waves of the sea. Its largeness was not less than the Pyræum [at Athens], and had towards the city a double station for the ships. It was of excellent workmanship; and this was the more remarkable for its being built in a place that of itself was not suitable to such noble structures, but was to be brought to perfection by materials from other places, and at very great expenses. This city is situate in Phenicia, in the passage by sea to Egypt, between Joppa and Dora, which are lesser maritime cities, and not fit for havens, on account of the impetuous south winds that beat upon them, which rolling the sands that come from the sea against the shores, do not admit of ships lying in their station, but the merchants are generally there forced to ride at their anchors in the sea itself. So Herod endeavoured to rectify this inconvenience, and laid out such a compass towards the land as might

"whole Roman empire being divided into two opposite factions, there was produced hereby the most destructive war that ever afflicted it; and the like folly too much reigns in all other places. Could about thirty men be persuaded to live at home in peace, without enterprising upon the right of each other, for the vain glory of conquest, and the enlargement of power, the whole world might be at quiet; but their ambition, their follies, and their humour, leading them constantly to encroach upon and quarrel with each other, they involve all that are under them in the mischiefs thereof; and many thousands are they which yearly perish by it; so that it may almost raise a doubt, whether the benefit which the world receives from government be sufficient to make amends for the calamities which it suffers from the follies, mistakes, and mal-administrations of those that manage it."

be sufficient for an haven, wherein the great ships might lie in safety; and this he effected by letting down vast stones of above fifty feet in length, not less than eighteen in breadth, and nine in depth, into twenty fathom deep, and as some were lesser, so were others bigger than those dimensions. This mole which he built by the sea side was two hundred feet wide, the half of which was opposed to the current of the waves, so as to keep off those waves which were to break upon them, and so was called Procymatia, or the first breaker of the waves, but the other half had upon it a wall, with several towers, the largest of which was named Drusus, and was a work of very great excellence, and had its name from Drusus, the son-in-law of Cæsar, who died young. There were also a great number of arches where the mariners dwelt. There was also before them a key [or landing place], which ran round the entire haven, and was a most agreeable walk to such as had a mind to that exercise; but the entrance or mouth of the port was made on the north quarter, on which side was the stillest of the winds of all in this place: and the basis of the whole circuit on the left hand, as you enter the port, supported a round turret, which was made very strong, in order to resist the greatest waves, while on the right hand, as you enter, stood two vast stones, and those each of them larger than the turret, which were over against them: these stood upright, and were joined together. Now there were edifices all along the circular haven, made of the polished stone, with a certain elevation, whereon was erected a temple, that was seen a great way off by those that were sailing for that haven, and had in it two statues, the one of Rome, the other of Cæsar. As the city itself was called Cæsarea, which was also itself built of fine materials, and was of a fine structure; nay, the very subterranean vaults and cellars had no less of architecture bestowed on them than had the buildings above ground. Some of these vaults carried things at even distances to the haven and to the sea, but one of them ran obliquely, and bound all the rest together, that both the rain and the filth of the citizens were together carried off with ease, and the sea itself, upon the flux of the tide from without, came into the city, and washed it all clean. Herod also built therein a theatre of stone; and on the south quarter, behind the port, an amphitheatre also, capable of holding a vast number of men, and conveniently situated for a prospect to the sea. So this city was thus finished in * twelve years;

* Cæsarea being here said to be rebuilt and adorned in twelve years, and soon afterwards in ten years, Antiq. B. XVI. ch. v. § 1. there must be a mistake in one of the places as to the true number, but which of them it is hard positively to determine.

during which time the king did not fail to go on both with the work and to pay the charges that were necessary.

CHAP. X.

How Herod sent his sons to Rome; how also he was accused by Zenodorus, and the Gadarens, but was cleared of what they accused him of, and withal gained to himself the good will of Cæsar. Concerning the Pharisees, the Essens, and Manahem.

§ 1. When Herod was engaged in such matters, and when he had already re-edified Sebaste [Samaria], he resolved to send his sons Alexander and Aristobulus to Rome, to enjoy the company of Cæsar; who, when they came thither, lodged at the house of * Pollio, who was very fond of Herod's friendship; and they had leave to lodge in Cæsar's own palace, for he received these sons of Herod with all humanity, and gave Herod leave to give his kingdom to which of his sons he pleased; and, besides all this, he bestowed on him Trachon and Batanea, and Auranitis, which he gave him on the occasion following: One † Zenodorus had hired what was called the house of Lysanias, who, as he was not satisfied with its revenues, became a partner with the robbers that inhabited the Trachones, and so procured himself a larger income; for the inhabitants of those places lived in a mad way, and pillaged the country of the Damascenes, while Zenodorus did not restrain them, but partook of the prey they acquired. Now, as the neighbouring people were hereby great sufferers, they complained to Varro, who was then president [of Syria], and entreated him to write to Cæsar about this injustice of Zenodorus. When these matters were laid before Cæsar, he wrote back to Varro to destroy those nests of robbers, and to give the land to Herod, that so by his care the neighbouring countries might be no longer disturbed with these doings of the Trachonites, for it was not an easy thing to restrain them, since this way of robbery had been their usual practice, and they had no other way to get their living, because they had neither any city of their own, nor lands in their possession, but only some receptacles and dens in the earth, and there they and their cattle lived in common together: However,

* This Pollio, with whom Herod's sons lived at Rome, was not Pollio the Pharisee, already mentioned by Josephus, ch .i. § 1. and again presently after this, ch. x. § 4. but Asinius Pollio, the Roman, as Spanheim here observes.

† The character of this Zenodorus is so like that of a famous robber of this same name in Strabo, and that about this very country, and about this very time also, that I think Dr. Hudson hardly needed to have put a *perhaps* to his determination that they were the same.

they had made contrivances to get pools of water, and laid up corn in granaries for themselves, and were able to make great resistance, by issuing out on the sudden against any that attacked them; for the entrances of their caves were narrow, in which but one could come in at a time, and the places within incredibly large, and made very wide; but the ground over their habitations was not very high, but rather on a plain, while the rocks are altogether hard and difficult to be entered upon, unless any one gets into the plain road by the guidance of another, for these roads are not straight, but have several revolutions. But when these men are hindered from their wicked preying upon their neighbours, their custom is to prey one upon another, insomuch that no sort of injustice comes amiss to them. But when Herod had received this grant from Cæsar, and was come into this country, he procured skilful guides, and put a stop to their wicked robberies, and procured peace and quietness to the neighbouring people.

2. Hereupon Zenodorus was grieved, in the first place, because his principality was taken away from him, and still more so, because he envied Herod, who had gotten it; so he went up to Rome to accuse him, but returned back again without success. Now Agrippa was [about this time] sent to succeed Cæsar in the government of the countries beyond the Ionian sea, upon whom Herod light when he was wintering about Mitylene, for he had been his particular friend and companion, and then returned into Judea again. However, some of the Gadarens came to Agrippa, and accused Herod, whom he sent back bound to the king without giving them the hearing: but still the Arabians, who of old bare ill-will to Herod's government, were nettled, and at that time attempted to raise a sedition in his dominions, and, as they thought upon a more justifiable occasion: for Zenodorus, despairing already of success, as to his own affairs, prevented [his enemies], by selling to those Arabians a part of his principality, called Auranitis, for the value of fifty talents; but as this was included in the donations of Cæsar, they contested the point with Herod, as unjustly deprived of what they had bought. Sometimes they did this by making incursions upon him, and sometimes by attempting force against him, and sometimes by going to law with him. Moreover, they persuaded the poorer soldiers to help them, and were troublesome to him, out of a constant hope that they should seduce the people to raise a sedition; in which designs those that are in the most miserable circumstances of life, are still the most earnest; and although Herod had been a great while apprized of these attempts, yet did not he indulge any severity to them,

but by rational methods aimed to mitigate things, as not willing to give any handle for tumults.

3. Now when Herod had already reigned seventeen years, Cæsar came into Syria; at which time the greatest part of the inhabitants of Gadara clamoured against Herod, as one that was heavy in his injunctions, and tyrannical. These reproaches they mainly ventured upon by the encouragement of Zenodorus, who took his oath that he would never leave Herod till he had procured that they should be severed from Herod's kingdom, and joined to Cæsar's province. The Gadarens were induced hereby, and made no small cry against him, and that the more boldly, because those that had been delivered up by Agrippa were not punished by Herod, who let them go, and did them no harm, for indeed he was the principal man in the world who appeared almost inexorable in punishing crimes in his own family, but very generous in remitting the offences that were committed elsewhere. And while they accused Herod of injuries and plunderings, and subversions of temples, he stood unconcerned, and was ready to make his defence. However, Cæsar gave him his right hand, and remitted nothing of his kindness to him, upon this disturbance by the multitude; and indeed these things were alleged the first day, but the hearing proceeded no farther; for as the Gadarens saw the inclination of Cæsar and of his assessors, and expected, as they had reason to do, that they should be delivered up to the king, some of them, out of a dread of the torments they might undergo, cut their own throats in the night time, and some of them threw themselves down precipices, and others of them cast themselves into the river, and destroyed themselves of their own accord; which accidents seemed a sufficient condemnation of the rashness and crimes they had been guilty of: whereupon Cæsar made no longer delay, but cleared Herod from the crimes he was accused of. Another happy accident there was, which was a farther great advantage to Herod at this time; for Zenodorus's belly burst, and a great quantity of blood issued from him in his sickness, and he thereby departed this life at Antioch in Syria; so Cæsar bestowed his country, which was no small one, upon Herod; it lay between Trachon and Galilee, and contained Ulatha, and Paneas, and the country round about. He also made him one of the procurators of Syria, and commanded that they should do every thing with his approbation: and, in short, he arrived at that pitch of felicity, that whereas there were but two men that governed the vast Roman empire, first Cæsar, and then Agrippa, who was his principal favourite, Cæsar preferred no one to Herod besides Agrippa, and Agrippa made no one his greater friend than Herod besides Cæsar. And when he had acquired such freedom, he begged of Cæsar a te-

trarchy * for his brother Pheroras, while he did himself bestow upon him a revenue of an hundred talents out of his own kingdom, that in case he came to any harm himself his brother might be in safety, and that his sons might not have dominion over him. So when he had conducted Cæsar to the sea, and was returned home, he built him a most beautiful temple of the whitest stone, in Zenodorus's country, near the place called Panium. This is a very fine cave in a mountain, under which there is a great cavity in the earth, and the cavern is abrupt, and prodigiously deep, and full of a still water; over it hangs a vast mountain; and under the caverns arise the springs of the river Jordan. Herod adorned this place, which was already a very remarkable one, still farther, by the erection of this temple, which he dedicated to Cæsar.

4. At which time Herod released to his subjects the third part of their taxes, under pretence indeed of relieving them, after the dearth they had had; but the main reason was, to recover their good will, which he now wanted, for they were uneasy at him, because of the innovations he had introduced in their practices, of the dissolution of their religion, and of the disuse of their own customs; and the people every where talked against him, like those that were still more provoked and disturbed at his procedure: against which discontents he greatly guarded himself, and took away the opportunities they might have to disturb him, and enjoined them to be always at work, nor did he permit the citizens either to meet together, or to walk, or to eat together, but watched every thing they did, and when any were caught they were severely punished, and many there were who were brought to the citadel Hyrcania, both openly and secretly, and were there put to death; and there were spies set every where, both in the city, and in the roads, who watched those that met together; nay, it is reported, that he did not himself neglect this part of caution, but that he would oftentimes himself take the habit of a private man, and mix among the multitude, in the night time, and make trial what opinion they had of his government; and as for those that could no way be reduced to acquiesce under his scheme of government, he prosecuted them all manner of ways, but for the rest of the multitude, he required that they should be obliged to take an oath of fidelity to him, and at the same time compelled them to swear that they would bear him good will, and continue certainly so to do, in his management of the government; and indeed a great part of them, either to please him, or out of

* A *tetrarchy* properly and originally denoted the fourth part of an entire kingdom or country, and a *tetrarch* one that was a ruler of such a fourth part, which always implies somewhat less extent of dominion and power than belong to a kingdom and to a king.

fear of him, yielded to what he required of them, but for such as were of a more open and generous disposition, and had indignation at the force he used to them, he by one means or other made away with them. He endeavoured also to persuade Pollio the Pharisee, and Sameas, and the greatest part of their scholars, to take the oath; but these would neither submit so to do, nor were they punished together with the rest, out of the reverence he bore to Pollio. The Essens also, as we call a sect of ours, were excused from this imposition. These men live the same kind of life as do those whom the Greeks call *Pythagoreans*, concerning whom I shall discourse more fully elsewhere. However, it is but fit to set down here the reasons wherefore Herod had these Essens in such honour, and thought higher of them than their mortal nature required; nor will this account be unsuitable to the nature of this history, as it will shew the opinion men had of these Essens.

Now there was one of these Essens, whose name was Manahem, who had this testimony, that he not only conducted his life after an excellent manner, but had the foreknowledge of future events given him by God also. This man once saw Herod when he was a child, and going to school, and saluted him as king of the Jews; but he thinking that either he did not know him, or that he was in jest, put him in mind that he was but a private man, but Manahem smiled to himself, and clapped him on his backside with his hand, and said, "However that be "thou wilt be king, and wilt begin thy reign happily, for God "finds thee worthy of it. And do thou remember the blows "that Manahem hath given thee, as being a signal of the change "of thy fortune. And truly this will be the reasoning for thee, "that thou love justice [towards men], and piety towards God, "and clemency towards thy citizens; yet do I know how thy "whole conduct will be, that thou wilt not be such an one, for "thou wilt excel all men in happiness, and obtain an everlasting "reputation, but wilt forget piety and righteousness; and these "crimes will not be concealed from God, at the conclusion of "thy life, when thou wilt find that he will be mindful of them, "and punish thee for them." Now at that time Herod did not at all attend to what Manahem said, as having no hopes of such advancement; but a little afterward, when he was so fortunate as to be advanced to the dignity of king, and was in the height of his dominion, he sent for Manahem, and asked him, how long he should reign? Manahem did not tell him the full length of his reign, wherefore, upon that silence of his, he asked him, farther, Whether he should reign ten years or not? he replied, "Yes, twenty, nay, thirty years," but did not assign the just determinate limit of his reign. Herod was satisfied with these

replies, and gave Manahem his hand, and dismissed him, and from that time he continued to honour all the Essens. We have thought it proper to relate these facts to our readers, how strange soever they be, and to declare what hath happened among us, because many of the Essens have by their excellent virtue, been thought worthy of his knowledge of divine revelations.

CHAP. XI.

How Herod rebuilt the temple, and raised it higher, and made it more magnificent than it was before; as also concerning that tower which he called Antonia.

§ 1. AND now Herod, in the eighteenth year of his reign, and after the acts already mentioned, undertook a very great work, that is, to build of himself the * temple of God, and made it larger in compass, and to raise it to a most magnificent altitude, as esteeming it to be the most glorious of all his actions, as it really was, to bring it to perfection, and this would be sufficient for an everlasting memorial of him; but as he knew the multitude were not ready nor willing to assist him in so vast a design, he thought to prepare them first by making a speech to them, and then set about the work itself; so he called them together, and spake thus to them: "I think I need not speak to "you, my countrymen, about such other works as I have done "since I came to the kingdom, although I may say they have "been performed in such a manner as to bring more security "to you than glory to myself; for I have neither been negligent "in the most difficult times about what tended to ease your ne-"cessities, nor have the buildings I have made been so proper to "preserve me as yourselves from injuries; and I imagine that, "with God's assistance, I have advanced the nation of the Jews "to a degree of happiness which they never had before; and "for the particular edifices belonging to your own country, and "your own cities that we have lately acquired, which we have "erected and greatly adorned, and thereby augmented the dig-"nity of your nation, it seems to me a needless task to enume-

* We may here observe, that the fancy of the modern Jews, in calling this temple, which was really the *third* of their temples, the *second* temple, followed so long by later Christians, seems to be without any solid foundation. The reason why the Christians here followed the Jews, is, because the prophecy of Haggai ii. 6—9. which they expound of the Messiah's coming to the second or Zorobabel's temple, of which they suppose this of Herod's to be only a continuation, which is meant, I think, of his coming to the *fourth* and *last* temple, or to that future, largest and most glorious one, described by Ezekiel: whence I take the former notion, how general soever, to be a great mistake. See Lit. Accomp. of Proph. p. 24.

" rate them to you, since you well know them yourselves; but " as to that undertaking which I have a mind to set about at " present, and which will be a work of the greatest piety, and " excellence, that can possibly be undertaken by us, I will now " declare it to you. Our fathers indeed, when they were return- " ed from Babylon, built this temple to God Almighty, yet does " it want sixty cubits of its largeness in altitude; for so much did " that first temple which Solomon built exceed this temple; nor " let any one condemn our fathers for their negligence or want " of piety herein, for it was not their fault that the temple was " no higher; for they were Cyrus, and Darius the son of Hystas- " pes, who determined the measures for its rebuilding; and it " hath been by reason of the subjection of those fathers of ours " to them and to their posterity, and after them to the Macedo- " nians, that they had not the opportunity to follow the origi- " nal model of this pious edifice, nor could raise it to its ancient " altitude; but since I am now, by God's will, your governor, " and I have had peace a long time, and have gained great rich- " es, and large revenues, and, what is the principal thing of all, " I am at amity with, and well regarded by the Romans, who, " if I may so say, are the rulers of the whole world, I will do " my endeavour to correct that imperfection, which hath arisen " from the necessity of our affairs, and the slavery we have " been under formerly, and to make a thankful return, after the " most pious manner, to God, for what blessings I have received " from him, by giving me this kingdom, and that by rendering " his temple as complete as I am able."

2. And this was the speech which Herod made to them: but still this speech affrighted many of the people, as being unexpected by them; and because it seemed incredible, it did not encourage them, but put a damp upon them, for they were afraid that he would pull down the whole edifice, and not be able to bring his intentions to perfection for its rebuilding; and this danger appeared to them to be very great, and the vastness of the undertaking to be such as could hardly be accomplished.— But while they were in this disposition, the king encouraged them, and told them, " he would not pull down their temple " till all things were gotten ready for building it up entirely " again." And as he promised them this beforehand, so he did not break his word with them, but got ready a thousand waggons, that were to bring stones for the building, and chose out ten thousand of the most skilful workmen, and brought a thousand sacerdotal garments for as many of the priests, and had some of them taught the arts of stone-cutters, and others of carpenters, and then began to build, but this not till every thing was well prepared for the work.

3. So Herod took away the old foundations, and laid others, and erected the temple upon them, being in length an hundred cubits, and in height twenty additional cubits, which [twenty], upon the * sinking of their foundations, fell down: and this part it was that we resolved to raise again in the days of Nero. Now the temple was built of stones that were white and strong, and each of their length was twenty-five cubits, their height was eight, and their breadth about twelve; and the whole structure, as was also the structure of the royal cloister, was on each side much lower, but the middle was much higher, till they were visible to those that dwelt in the country for a great many furlongs, but chiefly to such as lived over against them, and those that approached to them. The temple had doors also at the entrance, and lintels over them, of the same height with the temple itself. They were adorned with embroidered vails, with their flowers of purple, and pillars interwoven: and over these, but under the crown-work, was spread out a golden vine, with its branches hanging down from a great height, the largeness and fine workmanship of which was a surprising sight to the spectators, to see what vast materials there were, and with what great skill the workmanship was done. He also encompassed the entire temple with very large cloisters, contriving them to be in a due proportion thereto; and he laid out larger sums of money upon them than had been done before him, till it seemed that no one else had so greatly adorned the temple as he had done. There was a large wall to both the cloisters, which wall was itself the most prodigious work that was ever heard of by man. The hill was a rocky ascent, that declined by degrees towards the east parts of the city, till it came to an elevated level. This hill it was which Solomon, who was the first of our kings, by divine revelation, encompassed with a wall; it was of excellent workmanship upwards, and round the top of it. He also built a wall below, beginning at the bottom, which was encompassed by a

* Some of our modern students in architecture have made a strange blunder here, when they imagine that Josephus affirms the entire foundation of the temple or holy house sunk down into the rocky mountain on which it stood, no less than 20 cubits, whereas he is clear that they were the foundations of the *additional* 20 cubits only above the hundred, (made perhaps weak on purpose, and only for shew and grandeur), that sunk or fell down, as Dr. Hudson rightly understands him: nor is the thing itself possible in the other sense. Agrippa's preparation for building the inner parts of the temple 20 cubits higher, (History of the War, B. V. ch. i. § 5.) must in all probability refer to this matter, since Josephus says here, that this which had fallen down was designed to be raised up again under Nero, under whom Agrippa made that preparation. But what Josephus says presently, that Solomon was the first king of the Jews, appears by the parallel place, Antiq. B. XX. ch. ix. § 7. vol. III. and other places, to be meant only the first of David's posterity, and the first builder of the temple.

deep valley; and at the south side he laid rocks together, and bound them one to another with lead, and included some of the inner parts, till it proceeded to a great height, and till both the largeness of the square edifice, and its altitude, were immense, and till the vastness of the stones in the front were plainly visible on the outside, yet so that the inward parts were fastened together with iron, and preserved the joints immoveable for all future times. When this work [for the foundation] was done in this manner, and joined together as part of the hill itself to the very top of it, he wrought it all into one outward surface, and filled up the hollow places which were about the wall, and made it a level on the external upper surface, and a smooth level also. This hill was walled all round, and in compass four furlongs, [the distance of] each angle containing in length a furlong: but within this wall, and on the very top of all, there ran another wall of stone also, having, on the east quarter, a double cloister, of the same length with the wall; in the midst of which was the temple itself. This cloister looked to the gates of the temple; and it had been adorned by many kings in former times: And round about the entire temple were fixed the spoils taken from barbarous nations; all these had been dedicated to the temple by Herod, with the addition of those he had taken from the Arabians.

4. Now on the north side [of the temple] was built a citadel, whose walls were square, and strong, and of extraordinary firmness. This citadel was built by the kings of the Asamonean race, who were also high priests before Herod, and they called it the Tower, in which were reposited the vestments of the high priest, which the high priest only put on at the time when he was to offer sacrifice. These vestments king Herod kept in that place, and after his death they were under the power of the Romans, until the time of Tiberius Cæsar; under whose reign Vitellius, the president of Syria, when he once came to Jerusalem, and had been most magnificently received by the multitude, he had a mind to make them some requittal for the kindness they had shewed him, so, upon their petition to have those holy vestments in their own power, he wrote about them to Tiberius Cæsar, who granted his request; and this their power over the sacerdotal vestments continued with the Jews till the death of king Agrippa; but after that, Cassius Longinus, who was president of Syria, and Cuspius Fadus, who was procurator of Judea, enjoined the Jews to reposit those vestments in the tower of Antonia, for that they ought to have them in their power, as they formerly had. However, the Jews sent ambassadors to Claudius Cæsar, to intercede with him for them, upon whose coming, king Agrippa, jun. being then at Rome,

asked for and obtained the power over them from the emperor, who gave command to Vitellius, who was then commander in Syria, to give it them accordingly. Before that time they were kept under the seal of the high priest, and of the treasurers of the temple; which treasurers the day before a festival, went up to the Roman captain of the temple guards, and viewed their own seal, and received the vestments; and again, when the festival was over, they brought it to the same place, and shewed the captain of the temple guards their seal, which corresponded with his seal, and reposited them there. And that these things were so, the afflictions that happened to us afterward [about them] are sufficient evidence: But for the tower itself, when Herod the king of the Jews had fortified it more firmly than before, in order to secure and guard the temple, he gratified Antonius, who was his friend, and the Roman ruler, and then gave it the name of the Tower of Antonia.

5. Now in the western quarters of the enclosure of the temple there were four gates; the first led to the king's palace, and went to a passage over the intermediate valley, two more led to the suburbs of the city, and the last led to the other city, where the road descended down into the valley by a great number of steps, and thence up again by the ascent, for the city lay over against the temple in the manner of a theatre, and was encompassed with a deep valley along the entire south quarter; but the fourth front of the temple, which was southward, had indeed itself gates in its middle, as also it had the royal cloisters, with three walks which reached in length from the east valley unto that on the west, for it was impossible it should reach any farther: and this cloister deserves to be mentioned better than any other under the sun; for while the valley was very deep, and its bottom could not be seen, if yon looked from above into the depth, this farther vastly high elevation of the cloister stood upon that height, insomuch, that if any one looked down from the top of the battlements, or down both those altitudes, he would be giddy, while his sight could not reach to such an immense depth. This cloister had pillars that stood in four rows one over against the other all along, for the fourth row was interwoven into the wall, which [also was built of stone]; and the thickness of each pillar was such, that three men might, with their arms extended, fathom it round, and join their hands again, while its length was twenty-seven feet with a double spiral at it basis; and the number of all the pillars [in that court] was an hundred and sixty-two. Their chapiters were made with sculptures after the Corinthian order, and caused an amazement [to the spectators], by reason of the grandeur of the whole. These four rows of pillars included

three intervals for walking in the middle of this cloister; two of which walks were made parallel to each other, and were contrived after the same manner; the breadth of each of them was thirty feet, the length was a furlong, and the height fifty feet, but the breadth of the middle part of the cloister was one and an half of the other, and the height was double, for it was much higher than those on each side; but the roofs were adorned with deep sculptures in wood, representing many sorts of figures: The middle was much higher than the rest, and the wall of the front was adorned with beams, resting upon pillars that were interwoven into it, and that front was all of polished stone; insomuch, that its fineness, to such as had not seen it, was incredible, and to such as had seen it was greatly amazing. Thus was the first enclosure, in the midst of which, and not far from it, was the second, to be gone up to by a few steps; this was encompassed by a stone wall for a partition, with an inscription, which forbade any foreigner to go in under pain of death. Now, this inner enclosure had on its southern and northern quarters three gates [equally] distant one from another; but on the east quarter, towards the sun rising, there was one large gate, through which such as were pure came in, together with their wives, but the temple farther inward in that gate was not allowed to the women; but still more inward was there a third [court of the] temple, whereinto it was not lawful for any but the priests alone to enter. The temple itself was within this; and before that temple was the altar, upon which we offer our sacrifices and burnt-offerings to God. Into * none of these three did King Herod enter, for he was forbidden, because he was not a priest. However, he took care of the cloisters, and the outer enclosures, and these he built in eight years.

6. But the temple itself was built by the priests in a year and six months: upon which all the people were full of joy; and presently they returned thanks, in the first place, to God, and in the next place, for the alacrity the king had shewed. They feasted, and celebrated this rebuilding of the temple: And for the king, he sacrificed three hundred oxen to God, as did the rest every one according to his ability; the number of which sacrifices is not possible to be set down, for it cannot be that we should truly relate it: for at the same time with this celebra-

Into none of these three did king Herod enter, i. e. 1. Not into the court of the priests; 2. nor into the holy house itself; 3. nor into the separate place belonging to the altar, as the words following imply, for none but priests, or their attendants the Levites, might come into any of them. See Antiq. B. XVI. ch. iv. § 6. when Herod goes into the temple, and makes a speech in it to the people, but that could only be into the court of Israel, whither the people could come to hear him.

tion for the work about the temple fell also the day of the king's inauguration, which he kept of an old custom as a festival, and it now coincided with the other, which coincidence of them both made the festival most illustrious.

7. There was also an occult passage built for the king: it led from Antonia to the inner temple, at its eastern gate; over which he also erected for himself a tower, that he might have the opportunity of a subterraneous ascent to the temple, in order to guard against any sedition which might be made by the people against their kings. It is also * reported, that during the time that the temple was building, it did not rain in the day time, but that the showers fell in the night, so that the work was not hindered. And this our fathers have delivered to us; nor is it incredible, if any one have regard to the manifestations of God. And thus was performed the work of the rebuilding of the temple.

* This tradition which Josephus here mentions, as delivered down from fathers to their children, of this particular remarkable circumstance relating to the building of Herod's temple, is a demonstration that such its building was a known thing in Judea at this time. He was born but 46 years after it is related to have been finished, and might himself have seen and spoken with some of the builders themselves, and with a great number of those that had seen it building. The doubt therefore about the truth of this history of the pulling down and rebuilding this temple by Herod, which some weak people have indulged, was not then much greater than it soon may be, whether or no our St. Paul's church in London was burnt down in the fire of London, A. D. 1666, and rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren a little afterward.

BOOK XVI.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF TWELVE YEARS.

[FROM THE FINISHING OF THE TEMPLE BY HEROD TO THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER AND ARISTOBULUS.]

CHAP. I.

A law of Herod about thieves. Salome and Pheroras, calumniate Alexander and Aristobulus, upon their return from Rome, for whom yet Herod provides wives.

§ 1. As king Herod was very zealous in the administration of his entire government, and desirous to put a stop to particular acts of injustice which were done by criminals about the city and country, he made a law, no way like our original laws, and which he enacted of himself, to expose house-breakers to be ejected out of his kingdom; which punishment was not only grievous to be borne by the offenders, but contained in it a dissolution of the customs of our forefathers; for this slavery to foreigners, and such as did not live after the manner of Jews, and this necessity that they were under to do whatsoever such men should command, was an offence against our religious settlement, rather than a punishment to such as were found to have offended, such a punishment being avoided in our original laws; for those laws ordain, that the thief shall restore fourfold: and that if he have not so much, he shall be sold indeed, but not to foreigners, nor so that he be under perpetual slavery, for he must have been released after six years. But this law, thus enacted, in order to introduce a severe and illegal punishment, seemed to be a piece of insolence in Herod, when he did not act as a king but as a tyrant, and thus contemptuously, and without any regard to his subjects, did he venture to introduce such a punishment. Now this penalty, thus brought into practice, was like Herod's other actions, and became a part of his accusation, and an occasion of the hatred he lay under.

2. Now at this time it was that he sailed to Italy, as very desirous to meet with Cæsar, and to see his sons who lived at Rome: and Cæsar was not only very obliging to him in other respects, but delivered him his sons again, that he might take them home with him, as having already completed themselves in the sciences; but as soon as the young men were come from Italy, the

multitude were very desirous to see them, and they became conspicuous among them all, as adorned with great blessings of fortune, and having the countenances of persons of royal dignity. So they soon appeared to be the objects of envy to Salome, the king's sister, and to such as had raised calumnies against Mariamne; for they were suspicious, that when these came to the government, they should be punished for the wickedness they had been guilty of against their mother: so they made this very fear of theirs a motive to raise calumnies against them also.—They gave it out that they were not pleased with their father's company, because he had put their mother to death, as if it were not agreeable to piety to appear to converse with their mother's murderer. Now by carrying these stories, that had indeed a true foundation [in the fact], but were only built on probabilities; as to the present accusation, they were able to do them mischief, and to make Herod take away that kindness from his sons which he had before borne to them, for they did not say these things to him openly, but scattered abroad such words among the rest of the multitude; from which words, when carried to Herod, he was induced [at last] to hate them, and which natural affection itself, even in length of time, was not able to overcome; yet was the king at that time in a condition to prefer the natural affection of a father before all the suspicions and calumnies his sons lay under; So he respected them as he ought to do, and married them to wives, now they were of an age, suitable thereto. To Aristobulus he gave for a wife Berenice, Salome's daughter, and to Alexander, Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia.

CHAP. II.

How Herod twice sailed to Agrippa: and how, upon the complaint of the Jews in Ionia, against the Greeks, Agrippa confirmed the laws of the Jews to them.

§ 1. When Herod had despatched these affairs, and he understood that Marcus Agrippa had sailed again out of Italy into Asia, he made haste to him, and besought him to come to him into his kingdom, and to partake of what he might justly expect from one that had been his guest, and was his friend. This request he greatly pressed, and to it Agrippa agreed, and came into Judea; whereupon Herod omitted nothing that might please him. He entertained him in his new built cities, and shewed him the edifices he had built, and provided all sorts of the best and most costly dainties for him and his friends, and that at Sebaste and Cæsarea, about that port that

he had built, and at the fortresses which he had erected at great expense, Alexandrium, and Herodium, and Hyrcania. He also conducted him to the city Jerusalem, where all the people met him in their festival garments, and received him with acclamations. Agrippa also offered an hecatomb of sacrifices to God; and feasted the people, without omitting any of the greatest dainties that could be gotten. He also took so much pleasure there, that he abode many days with them, and would willingly have staid longer, but that the season of the year made him make haste away; for, as winter was coming on, he thought it not safe to go to sea later, and yet he was of necessity to return again to Ionia.

2. So Agrippa went away, when Herod had bestowed on him, and on the principal of those that were with him, many presents: but king Herod, when he had passed the winter in his own dominions, made haste to get to him again in the spring, when he knew he designed to go to a campaign at the Bosphorous. So when he had sailed by Rhodes, and by Cos, he touched at Lesbos, as thinking he should have overtaken Agrippa there, but he was taken short here by a north wind, which hindered his ship from going to the shore; so he continued many days at Chios, and there he kindly treated a great many that came to him, and obliged them by giving them royal gifts. And when he saw that the portico of the city was fallen down, which, as it was overthrown in the Mithridatic war, and was a very large and fine building, so was it not so easy to rebuild that as it was the rest, yet did he furnish a sum not only large enough for that purpose, but what was more than sufficient to finish the building, and ordered them not to overlook that portico, but to rebuild it quickly, that so the city might recover its proper ornaments. And when the high winds were laid, he sailed to Mitylene, and thence to Byzantium; and when he heard that Agrippa was sailed beyond the Cyanean rocks, he made all the haste possible to overtake him, and came up with him about Sinope, in Pontus. He was seen sailing by the shipmen most unexpectedly, but appeared to their great joy; and many friendly salutations there were between them, insomuch that Agrippa thought he had received the greatest marks of the king's kindness and humanity towards him possible, since the king had come so long a voyage, and at a very proper season for his assistance, and had left the government of his own dominions, and thought it more worth his while to come to him. Accordingly, Herod was all in all to Agrippa, in the management of the war, and a great assistant in civil affairs, and in giving him counsel as to particular matters. He was also a pleasant companion for him when he relaxed himself, and a joint partaker with him in all things:

in troubles because of his kindness, and in prosperity because of the respect Agrippa had for him. Now as soon as those affairs of Pontus were finished, for whose sake Agrippa was sent thither, they did not think fit to return by sea, but passed through Paphlagonia and Cappadocia; they then travelled thence over great Phrygia, and came to Ephesus, and then they sailed from Ephesus to Samos. And indeed the king bestowed a great many benefits on every city that he came to, according as they stood in need of them; for as for those that wanted either money or kind treatment, he was not wanting to them; but he supplied the former himself out of his own expenses: he also became an intercessor with Agrippa for all such as sought after his favour, and he brought things so about, that the petitioners failed in none of their suits to him, Agrippa being himself of a good disposition, and of great generosity, and ready to grant all such requests as might be advantageous to the petitioners, provided they were not to the detriment of others. The inclination of the king was of great weight also, and still excited Agrippa, who was himself ready to do good; for he made a reconciliation between the people of Ilium, at whom he was angry, and paid what money the people of Chios owed Cæsar's procurators, and discharged them of their tributes; and helped all others according as their several necessities required.

3. But now when Agrippa and Herod were in Ionia, a great multitude of Jews, who dwelt in their cities, came to them, and laying hold of the opportunity and the liberty now given them, laid before them the injuries which they suffered, while they were not permitted to use their own laws, but were compelled to prosecute their law-suits by the ill usage of the judges, upon their holy days, and were deprived of the money they used to lay up at Jerusalem, and were forced into the army, and upon such other offices as obliged them to spend their sacred money: from which burdens they always used to be freed by the Romans, who had still permitted them to live according to their own laws. When this clamour was made, the king desired of Agrippa that he would hear their cause, and assigned Nicolaus, one of his friends, to plead for those their privileges. Accordingly, when Agrippa had called the principal of the Romans, and such of the kings and rulers as were there, to be his assessors, Nicolaus stood up, and pleaded for the Jews, as follows: "It is of necessity incumbent on such as are in distress to have "recourse to those that have it in their power to free them "from those injuries they lie under; and for those that now are "complainants, they approach you with great assurance; for as "they have formerly often obtained your favour, so far as they "have even wished to have it, they now only entreat that you,

" who have been the donors, will take care that those favours " you have already granted them may not be taken away from " them. We have received these favours from you, who a- " lone have power to grant them, but have them taken from " us by such as are no greater than ourselves, and by such as " we know are as much subjects as we are: and certainly, if " we have been vouchsafed great favours, it is to our own com- " mendation, who have obtained them, as having been found " deserving of such great favours; and if those favours be but " small ones, it would be barbarous for the donors not to con- " firm them to us; and for those that are the hinderance of the " Jews, and use them reproachfully, it is evident that they af- " front both the receivers, while they will not allow those " to be worthy men to whom their excellent rulers themselves " have borne their testimony, and the donors while they desire " those favours already granted may be abrogated. Now if " any one should ask these Gentiles themselves, which of the " two things they would choose to part with, their lives, or " the customs of their forefathers, their solemnities, their sa- " crifices, their festivals, which they celebrated in honour of " those they suppose to be gods? I know very well that they " would choose to suffer any thing whatsoever, rather than a " dissolution of any of the customs of their forefathers; for a " great many of them have rather chosen to go to war on that " account, as very solicitous not to transgress in those matters: " And indeed we take an estimate of that happiness which all " mankind do now enjoy by your means from this very thing, " that we are allowed every one to worship as our own institu- " tions require, and yet to live [in peace,] and although they " would not be thus treated themselves, yet do they endeavour " to compel others to comply with them, as if it were not as " great an instance of impiety, profanely to dissolve the religi- " ous solemnities of any others, as to be negligent in the obser- " vation of their own towards their gods. And let us now con- " sider the one of these practices: Is there any people or city, " or community of men, to whom your government and the " Roman power does not appear to be the greatest blessing? Is " there any one that can desire to make void the favours they " have granted? No one is certainly so mad: for there are no " men but such as have been partakers of their favours, both " public and private; and indeed those that take away what " you have granted, can have no assurance; but every one of " their own grants made them by you, may be taken from them " also; which grants of yours can yet never be sufficiently va- " lued; for if they consider the old governments, under kings, " together with your present government, besides the great

"number of benefits which this government hath bestowed on "them in order to their happiness, this is instead of all the rest, "that they appear to be no longer in a state of slavery, but of "freedom. Now the privileges we desire, even when we are "in the best circumstances, are not such as deserve to be en-"vied, for we are indeed in a prosperous state by your means, "but this is only in common with others; and it is no more "than this which we desire, to preserve our religion without "any prohibition; which as it appears not in itself a privilege "to be envied us, so it is for the advantage of those that grant "it to us; for if the divinity delights in being honoured, it must "delight in those that permit them to be honoured: and there "are none of our customs which are inhuman, but all tending "to piety, and devoted to the preservation of justice; nor do "we conceal those injunctions of ours, by which we govern our lives, they being memorials of piety, and of a friendly con-"versation among men: And * the seventh day we set apart from "labour; it is dedicated to the learning of our customs and "laws, we thinking it proper to reflect on them, as well as on "any [good] thing else, in order to our avoiding of sin. If any "one therefore examine into our observances, he will find they "are good in themselves, and that they are ancient also, though "some think otherwise, insomuch, that those who have received "them, cannot easily be brought to depart from them, out of "that honour they pay to the length of time they have reli-"giously enjoyed them, and observed them. Now our adver-"saries take these our privileges away in the way of injustice: "they violently seize upon that money of ours which is offered "to God, and called sacred money, and this openly, after a sa-"crilegious manner; and they impose tributes upon us, and "bring us before tribunals on holy days, and then require "other like debts of us, not because the contracts require it, and "for their own advantage: but because they would put an af-"front on our religion, of which they are conscious as well as "we, and have indulged themselves in an unjust, and, to them "involuntary hatred; for your government over all is one, "tending to the establishing of benevolence, and abolishing of "ill will among such as are disposed to it. This is therefore "what we implore from thee, most excellent Agrippa, that we "may not be ill treated; that we may not be abused; that we "may not be hindered from making use of our own customs; "nor be despoiled of our goods; nor be forced by these men to

* We may here observe the ancient practice of the Jews of dedicating the Sabbath-day not to idleness, but to the learning their sacred rites and religious customs, and to the meditation on the law of Moses. The like to which we meet with elsewhere in Josephus also against Apion, B. I. § 22.

" do what we ourselves force nobody to do, for these privileges " of ours are not only according to justice, but have formerly " been granted us by you. And we are able to read to you " many decrees of the senate, and the tables that contain them " which are still extant in the capitol, concerning these things, " which it is evident were granted after you had experience of " our fidelity towards you, which ought to be valued, though " no such fidelity had been; for you have hitherto preserved " what people were in possession of, not to us only, but almost " to all men, and have added greater advantages than they could " have hoped for, and thereby your government is become a " great advantage to them. And if any one were able to enu- " merate the benefits you have conferred on every nation, " which they possess by your means, he could never put an end " to his discourse; but that we may demonstrate that we are " not unworthy of all those advantages we have obtained, it " will be sufficient for us to say nothing of other things, but to " speek freely of this king who now governs us, and is now " one of thy assessors: and indeed in what instance of good-will, " as to your house, hath he been deficient? What mark of fi- " delity to it hath he omitted? What token of honour hath he " not devised? What occasion for his assistance of you hath he " not regarded at the very first. What hindereth, therefore, " but that your kindnesses may be as numerous as his so great " benefits to you have been. It may also perhaps be fit here not " to pass over in silence the valour of his father Antipater, who, " when Cæsar made an expedition into Egypt, assisted him with " two thousand armed men, and proved inferior to none, neither " in the battles on land, nor in the management of the navy; " and what need I say any thing of how great weight those sol- " diers were at that juncture? or how many, and how great " presents they were vouchsafed by Cæsar? And truly I ought " before now to have mentioned the epistles which Cæsar wrote " to the senate; and how Antipater had honours, and the free- " dom of the city of Rome, bestowed upon him, for these are " demonstrations both that we have received these favours by " our own deserts, and do on that account petition thee for thy " confirmation of them, from whom we had reason to hope for " them, though they had not been given us before, both out of " regard to our king's disposition towards you, and your dispo- " sition towards him. And farther, we have been informed by " those Jews that were there, with what kindness thou came " into our country, and how thou offered the most perfect sa- " crifices to God and honoured him with remarkable vows " and how thou gave the people a feast, and accepted of their " own hospitable presents to thee. We ought to esteem all these

"kind entertainments made both by our nation and our city, "to a man who is the ruler and manager of so much of the pub- "lic affairs, as indications of that friendship which thou hast re- "turned to the Jewish nation, and which hath been procured "them by the family of Herod. So we put thee in mind of these "things in the presence of the king, now sitting by thee, and "make our request for no more but this, that what you have "given us yourselves, you will not see taken away by others "from us?"

5. When Nicolaus had made this speech, there was no opposition made to it by the Greeks, for this was not an inquiry made, as in a court of justice, but an intercession to prevent violence to be offered to the Jews any longer; nor did the Greeks make any defence of themselves, or deny what it was supposed they had done. Their pretence was no more than this, that while the Jews inhabited in their country, they were entirely unjust to them [in not joining in their worship,] but they demonstrated their generosity in this, that though they worshipped according to their own institutions, they did nothing that ought to grieve them. So when Agrippa perceived that they had been oppressed by violence, he made this answer: "That "on account of Herod's good-will and friendship, he was ready "to grant the Jews whatsoever they should ask him, and that "their requests seemed to him in themselves just; and that if "they requested any thing farther, he should not scruple to "grant it them, provided they were no way to the detriment of "the Roman government; but that, while their request was "no more than this, that what privileges they had already gi- "ven them might not be abrogated, he confirmed this to them, "that they might continue in the observation of their own cus- "toms, without any one's offering them the least injury." And when he had said thus, he dissolved the assembly; Upon which Herod stood up, and saluted him, and gave him thanks for the kind disposition he showed to them. Agrippa also took this in a very obliging manner, and saluted him again, and embraced him in his arms; after which he went away from Lesbos, but the king determined to sail from Samos to his own country; and when he had taken his leave of Agrippa, he pursued his voyage, and landed at Cæsarea in a few days time, as having favourable winds, from whence he went to Jerusalem, and there gathered all the people together to an assembly, not a few being there out of the country also. So he came to them, and gave them a particular account of all his journey, and of the affairs of all the Jews in Asia, how by his means they would live without injurious treatment for the time to come. He also told them of the entire good fortune he had met with, and how he

had administered the government, and had not neglected any thing which was for their advantage; and as he was very joyful, he now remitted to them the fourth part of their taxes for the last year. Accordingly, they were so pleased with his favour and speech to them, that they went their ways with great gladness, and wished the king all manner of happiness.

CHAP. III.

How great disturbances arose in Herod's family on his prefering Antipater, his eldest son, before the rest, till Alexander took that injury very heinously.

§ 1. BUT now the affairs in Herod's family were in more disorder, and became more severe upon him, by the hatred of Salome to the young men [Alexander and Aristobulus,] which descended as it were by inheritance [from their mother Mariamne:] And as she fully had succeeded against their mother, so she proceeded to that degree of madness and insolence as to endeavour that none of her posterity might be left alive, who might have it in their power to revenge her death. The young men had also somewhat of a bold and uneasy disposition towards their father, occasioned by the remembrance of what their mother had unjustly suffered, and by their own affectation of dominion. The old grudge was also renewed; and they cast reproaches on Salome and Pheroras, who requited the young men with malicious designs, and actually laid treacherous snares for them. Now, as for this hatred it was equal on both sides, but the manner of exerting that hatred was different: for as for the young men they were rash, reproaching and affronting the others openly, and were unexperienced enough to think it the most generous to declare their minds in that undaunted manner: but the others did not take that method, but made use of calumnies after a subtle and a spiteful manner, still provoking the young men, and imagining that their boldness might in time turn to the offering violence to their father, for inasmuch as they were not ashamed of the pretended crimes of their mother, nor thought she suffered justly, these supposed that it might at length exceed all bounds, and induce them to think they ought to be avenged on their father, though it were by dispatching him with their own hands. At length it came to this, that the whole city was full of their discourses, and, as is usual in such contests, the unskilfulnes of the young men was pitied, but the contrivance of Salome was too hard for them, and what imputations she laid upon them came to be believed, by means of their own conduct; for they who were so deeply affected with

the death of their mother, that while they said both she and themselves were in a miserable case, they vehemently complained of her pitiable end, which indeed was truly such, and said that they were themselves in a pitiable case also, because they were forced to live with those that had been her murderers, and to be partakers with them.

2. These disorders increased greatly, and the king's absence abroad had afforded a fit opportunity for that increase; but as soon as Herod was returned, and had made the fore-mentioned speech to the multitude, Pheroras and Salome let fall words immediately as if he were in great danger, and as if the young men openly threatened that they would not spare him any longer, but revenge their mother's death upon him. They also added another circumstance, that their hopes were fixed on Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia, that they should be able by his means to come to Cæsar, and accuse their father. Upon hearing such things, Herod was immediately disturbed; and indeed was the more astonished, because the same things were related to him by some others also. He then called to mind his former calamity, and considered that the disorders in his family had hindered him from enjoying any comfort from those that were dearest to him, or from his wife whom he loved so well; and suspecting that his future troubles would soon be heavier and greater, than those that were past, he was in great confusion of mind, for divine Providence had in reality conferred upon him a great many outward advantages for his happiness, even beyond his hopes, but the troubles he had at home were such as he never expected to have met with, and rendered him unfortunate; nay both sorts came upon him to such a degree as no one could imagine, and made it a doubtful question, whether, upon the comparison of both, he ought to have exchanged so great a success of outward good things for so great misfortunes at home, or whether he ought not to have chosen to avoid the calamities relating to his family, though he had, for a compensation, never been possessed of the admired grandeur of a kingdom.

3. As he was thus disturbed and afflicted, in order to depress these young men, he brought to court another of his sons, that was born to him when he was a private man: his name was *Antipater*; yet did he not then indulge him as he did afterwaads, when he was quite overcome by him, and let him do every thing as he pleased, but rather with a design of depressing the insolence of the sons of Mariamne, and managing this elevation of his so, that it might be for a warning to them, for this bold behaviour of theirs (he thought) would not be so great, if they were once persuaded, that the succession to the kingdom did not appertain to them alone, or must of necessity come to them. So he intro-

duced Antipater as their antagonist, and imagined that he made a good provision for discouraging their pride, and that after this was done to the young men, there might be a proper season for expecting these to be of a better disposition: But the event proved otherwise than he intended, for the young men thought he did them a very great injury; and as Antipater was a shrewd man, when he had once obtained this degree of freedom, and began to expect greater things than he had before hoped for, he had but one single design in his head, and that was to distress his brethren, and not at all to yield to them the pre-eminence, but to keep close to his father, who was already alienated from them by the calumnies he had heard about them, and ready to be wrought upon in any way his zeal against them should advise him to pursue, that he might be continually more and more severe against them. Accordingly all the reports that were spread abroad came from him, while he avoided himself the suspicion as if those discoveries proceeded from him, but he rather chose to make use of those persons for his assistants that were unsuspected, and such as might be believed to speak truth by reason of the good-will they bore to the king; and indeed there were already not a few who cultivated a friendship with Antipater, in hopes of gaining somewhat by him, and these were the men who most of all persuaded Herod, because they appeared to speak thus out of their good-will to him: and while these joint accusations, which from various foundations supported one another's veracity, the young men themselves afforded farther occasions to Antipater also: for they were observed to shed tears often, on account of the injury that was offered them, and had their mother in their mouths, and among their friends they ventured to reproach their father, as not acting justly by them; all which things were with an evil intention reserved in memory by Antipater against a proper opportunity; and when they were told to Herod, with aggravations, increased the disorder so much, that it brought a great tumult into the family; for while the king was very angry at imputations that were laid upon the sons of Mariamne, and was desirous to humble them, he still increased the honour that he had bestowed on Antipater; and was at last so overcome by his persuasions, that he brought his mother to court also. He also wrote frequently to Cæsar in favour of him, and more earnestly recommended him to his care particularly. And when Agrippa was returning to Rome, after he had finished his ten * years' government in Asia, Herod sailed from Judea; and when he met with him, he had none with him but Antipater,

* This interval of ten years for the duration of Marcus Agrippa's government in Asia, seems to be true, and agreeable to the Roman history. See Usher's Annals at A. M. 5392.

whom he delivered to Agrippa, that he might take him along with him, together with many presents, that so he might become Cæsar's friend, insomuch, that things already looked as if he had all his father's favour, and that the young men were entirely rejected from any hopes of the kingdom.

CHAP. IV.

How, during Antipater's abode at Rome, Herod brought Alexander and Aristobulus before Cæsar, and accused them. Alexander's defence of himself before Cæsar, and reconciliation to his father.

§ 1. AND now what happened during Antipater's absence augmented the honour to which he had been promoted, and his apparent eminence above his brethren, for he had made a great figure in Rome, because Herod had sent recommendations of him to all his friends there, only he was grieved that he was not at home, nor had proper opportunities of perpetually calumniating his brethren; and his chief fear was, lest his father should alter his mind and entertain a more favourable opinion of the sons of Mariamne; and as he had this in his mind he did not desist from his purpose, but continually sent from Rome any such stories as he hoped might grieve and irritate his father against his brethren, under pretence indeed of a deep concern for his preservation, but in truth, such as his malicious mind dictated, in order to purchase a greater hope of the succession, which yet was already great in itself; and thus he did till he had excited such a degree of anger in Herod, that he was already become very ill disposed towards the young men; but still, while he delayed to exercise so violent a disgust against them, and that he might not either be too remiss, or too rash; and so offend, he thought it best to sail to Rome, and there accuse his sons before Cæsar, and not indulge himself in any such crime as might be heinous enough to be suspected of impiety; but as he was going up to Rome, it happened that he made such haste as to meet with Cæsar at the* city Aquilei: So when he came to the speech of Cæsar, he asked for a time for hearing this great cause, wherein he thought

* Although Herod met Augustus at Aquilei, yet was this accusation of his sons deferred till they came to Rome, as § 3. assures, and as we are particularly informed in the history of the War, B. I. ch. xxiii. § 3. vol. III. though what he here says belonged distinctly to Alexander the elder brother. I mean his being brought to Rome, is here justly extended to both the brothers, and that not only in our copies, but that in Zonaras also: nor is their reason to doubt but they were both at this solemn hearing of Augustus, although the defence were made by Alexander alone, who was the eldest brother, and one that could speak very well.

himself very miserable, and presented his sons there, and accused them of their mad actions, and of their attempts against him: That "they were enemies to him; and by all the means they were "able, did their endeavours to shew their hatred to their own father, and would take away his life, and so obtain his kingdom, "after the most barbarous manner; that he had power from Cæsar "to dispose of it, not by necessity but by choice, to him who shall "exercise the greatest piety towards him, while these my sons "are not so desirous of ruling, as they are, upon a disappointment thereof, to expose their own life; if so be they may but "deprive their father of his life, so wild and polluted is their "mind by time become out of their hatred to him; that whereas he had a long time borne this his misfortune, he was now "compelled to lay it before Cæsar, and to pollute his ears with "such language, while he himself wants to know what severity "they have ever suffered from him? or what hardships he "hath ever laid upon them to make them complain of him? "and how they can think it just that he should not be lord of "that kingdom, which he in a long time, and with great danger, had gained, and not allow him to keep it and dispose of "it to him who should deserve best! and this with other advantages, he proposes as a reward for the piety of such an one as "will hereafter imitate the care he hath taken of it, and that "such an one may gain so great a requital as that is; and that it "is an impious thing for them to pretend to meddle with it beforehand, for he who hath ever the kingdom in his view, at "the same time reckons upon procuring the death of his father, "because otherwise he cannot come at the government; that as "for himself, he had hitherto given them all that he was able, "and what was agreeable to such as are subject to the royal authority, and the sons of a king: what ornaments they wanted, "with servants and delicate fare, and had married them into the "most illustrious families, the one [Aristobulus] to his sister's "daughter, but Alexander to the daughter of king Archelaus; "and what was the greatest favour of all, when their crimes "were so very bad, and he had authority to punish them, yet "had he not made use of it against them, but had brought them "before Cæsar their common benefactor, and had not used the "severity which either as a father who had been impiously abused, or as a king who had been assaulted treacherously, he might "have done, he made them stand upon the level with him in "judgment; that, however, it was necessary that all this should "not be passed over without punishment, nor himself live in "the greatest fears; nay, that it was not for their own advantage to see the light of the sun after what they have done, "although they should escape at this time, since they had done

" the vilest things, and would certainly suffer the greatest pun-" ishments that were ever known among mankind."

2. These were the accusations which Herod laid with great vehemency against his sons before Cæsar. Now, the young men, both while he was speaking, and chiefly at his concluding, wept, and were in confusion. Now, as to themselves, they knew in their own conscience they were innocent, but because they were accused by their father, they were sensible, as the truth was, that it was hard for them to make their apology, since, though they were at liberty to speak their minds freely as the occasion required, and might with force and earnestness refute the accusation, yet was it not now decent so to do. There was therefore a difficulty how they should be able to speak, and tears, and at length a deep groan followed, while they were afraid, that if they said nothing, they should seem to be in this difficulty from a consciousness of guilt, nor had they any defence ready, by reason of their youth, and the disorder they were under; yet was not Cæsar unapprised, when he looked upon them in the confusion they were in, that their delay to make their defence did not arise from any consciousness of great enormities, but from their unskilfulness and modesty. They were also commiserated by those that were there in particular, and they moved their father's affections in earnest till he had much ado to conceal them.

3. But when they saw there was a kind disposition arisen both in him and in Cæsar, and that every one of the rest did either shed tears, or at least did all grieve with them, the one of them, whose name was *Alexander*, called to his father, and attempted to answer his accusation and said, " O father, the benevolence thou " hast shewed to us is evident, even in this very judicial proce-" dure, for hadst thou had any pernicious intentions about us thou " hadst not produced us here before the common saviour of all, " for it was in thy power, both as a king, and as a father, to " punish the guilty, but by thus bringing us to Rome, and mak-" ing Cæsar himself a witness to what is done thou intimatest " that thou intendest to save us, for no one that hath a design to " slay a man will bring him to the temples, and to the altars: " yet are our circumstances still worse, for we cannot endure to " live ourselves any longer, if it be believed that we have injur-" ed such a father; nay, perhaps it would be worse for us to " live with this suspicion upon us, that we have injured him, " than to die without such guilt: And if our open defence may " be taken to be true, we shall be happy, both in pacifying thee, " and in escaping the danger we are in, but if this calumny so " prevails, it is more than enough for us that we have seen the " sun this day; which why should we see, if this suspicion be " fixed upon us? Now it is easy to say of young men, that they

" desire to reign; and to say farther, that this evil proceeds from " the case of our unhappy mother. This is abundantly sufficient " to produce our misfortune out of the former; but consider " well, whether such an accusation does not suit all such young " men, and may not be said of them all promiscuously? for " nothing can hinder him that reigns, if he have children, and " their mother be dead, but the father may have a suspicion up- " on all his sons, as intending some treachery to him: but a sus- " picion is not sufficient to prove such an impious practice. Now " let any man say, whether we have actually and insolently at- " tempted any such thing, whereby actions otherwise incredible, " use to be made credible? Can any body prove that poison " hath been prepared? or prove a conspiracy of our equals, or " the corruption of servants, or letters written against thee? " though indeed there are none of those things but have some- " times been pretended by way of calumny, when they were " never done, for a royal family that is at variance with itself " is a terrible thing; and that which thou callest a reward of " piety, often becomes among very wicked men, such a founda- " tion of hope, as makes them leave no sort of mischief untried: " Nor does any one lay any wicked practices to our charge; " but to calumnies by hearsay, how can he put an end to them, " who will not hear what we have to say? Have we talked " with too great freedom? yes, but not against thee, for that " would be unjust, but against those that never conceal any thing " that is spoken to them. Hath either of us lamented our mo- " ther? yes; but not because she is dead, but because she was " evil spoken of by those who had no reason so to do. Are we " desirous of that dominion which we know our father is pos- " sessed of? For what reason can we do so? If we already " have royal honours, as we have, should not we labour in vain? " And if we have them not, yet, are not we in hopes of them? " Or supposing that we had killed thee, could we expect to ob- " tain thy kingdom? while neither the earth would let us tread " upon it, nor the sea let us sail upon it, after such an action as " that: nay, the religion of all your subjects, and the piety of " the whole nation, would have prohibited parricides from as- " suming the government, and from * entering into that most

* Since some prejudiced men have indulged a wild suspicion, as we have supposed already. Antiq. B. XV. ch. xi. § 7. that Josephus's history of Herod's rebuilding the temple is no better than a fable, it may not be amiss to take notice of the occasional clause in the speech of Alexander before his father Herod, in his and his brother's vindication, which mentions the temple as known by every body to have been built by Herod. See John ii. 20. See also another speech of Herod's own to the young men that pulled down his golden eagle from the front of the temple, where he takes notice, " How the building

"holy temple which was built by thee. But suppose we had "made light of other dangers, can any murderer go off un-"punished, while Cæsar is alive? We are thy sons, and not "so impious, or so thoughtless, as that comes to, though per-"haps more unfortunate than is convenient for thee. But in "case thou neither findest any causes of complaint, nor any "treacherous designs, what sufficient evidences hast thou to make "such a wickedness of ours credible? Our mother is dead in-"deed, but then what befel her might be an instruction to us "to caution, and not an incitement to wickedness We are "willing to make a larger apology for ourselves, but actions "never done do not admit of discourse: Nay, we will make "this agreement with thee, and that before Cæsar, the lord of "all, who is now a mediator between us, If thou, O father, canst "bring thyself by the evidence of truth, to have a mind free from "suspicion concerning us, let us live, though even then we shall "live in an unhappy way, for to be accused of great acts of wick-"edness, though falsely, is a terrible thing; but if thou hast any "fear remaining, continue thou on in thy pious life, we will "give this reason for our own conduct, our life is not so de-"sirable to us as to desire to have it, if it tend to the harm of "our father who gave it us."

4. When Alexander had thus spoken, Cæsar, who did not before believe so gross a calumny, was still more moved by it, and looked intently upon Herod, and perceived he was a little confounded, the persons there present were under an anxiety about the young men, and the fame that was spread abroad made the king hated, for the very incredibility of the calumny, and the commiseration which the flower of youth, the beauty of body, which were in the young men, pleaded for assistance; and the more so on this account, that Alexander had made their defence with dexterity and prudence; nay, they did not themselves any longer continue in their former countenances, which had been bedewed with tears and cast downwards to the ground, but now there arose in them a hope of the best: and the king himself appeared not to have had foundation enough to build such an accusation upon, he having no real evidence wherewith to convict them. Indeed he wanted some apology for making the accusation; but Cæsar, after some delay, said, That "although the "young men were thoroughly innocent of that for which they "were calumniated, yet had they been so far to blame, that "they had not demeaned themselves towards their father so as "to prevent that suspicion which was spread abroad concerning

"of the temple cost him a vast sum; and that the Asamoneans, in those 125 years "they held the government, were not able to perform so great a work, to the ho-"nour of God, as this was." Antiq. B. XVII. ch. vi. § 3. vol. III.

"them." He also exhorted Herod to lay all such suspicions aside, and to be reconciled to his sons; for that it was not just to give any credit to such reports concerning his own children; and that this repentance on both sides might still heal those breaches that had happened between them, and might improve that their good-will to one another, whereby those on both sides excusing the rashness of their suspicions, might resolve to bear a greater degree of affection towards each other than they had before. After Cæsar had given them this admonition, he beckoned to the young men. When therefore they were disposed to fall down to make intercession to their father, he took them up, and embraced them, as they were in tears, and took each of them distinctly in his arms, till not one of those that were present, whether freeman or slave, but was deeply affected with what they saw.

5. Then did they return thanks to Cæsar, and went away together; and with them went Antipater, with an hypocritical pretence that he rejoiced at this reconciliation. And in the last days they were with Cæsar, Herod made him a present of three hundred talents, as he was then exhibiting shews and largesses to the people of Rome: and Cæsar made him a present of half the revenue of the copper mines in Cyprus, and committed the care of the other half to him, and honoured him with other gifts and incomes: And as to his own kingdom, he left it in his own power to appoint which of his sons he pleased for his successor, or to distribute it in parts to every one, that the dignity might thereby come to them all. And when Herod was disposed to make such a settlement immediately, Cæsar said, "He would "not give him leave to deprive himself, while he was alive of "the power over his kingdom, or over his sons."

6. After this Herod returned to Judea again, But during his absence no small part of his dominions about Trachon had revolted, whom yet the commanders he left there had vanquished, and compelled to a submission again. Now, as Herod was sailing with his sons, and was come over against Cilicia, to [the island] Eleusa, which hath now changed its name for Sebaste, he met with Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, who received him kindly, as rejoicing that he was reconciled to his sons, and that the accusation against Alexander, who had married his daughter, was at an end. They also made one another such presents as it became kings to make. From thence Herod came to Judea and to the temple, where he made a speech to the people, concerning what had been done in this his journey: "He also dis-"coursed them about Cæsar's kindness to him, and about as ma-"ny of the particulars he had done, as he thought it for his ad-"vantage other people should be acquainted with. At last he

" turned his speech to the admonition of his sons; and exhorted " those that lived at court, and the multitude to concord: and " informed them, that his sons were to reign after him; Antipater first, and then Alexander and Aristobulus, the sons of " Mariamne: but he desired that at present they should all have " regard to himself, and esteem him king and lord of all, since " he was not yet hindered by old age, but was in that period of " life when he must be the most skilful in governing; and that " he was not deficient in other arts of management that might " enable him to govern the kingdom well, and to rule over his " children also. He farther told the rulers under him, and the " soldiery, that in case they would look upon him alone, their " life would be led in a peaceable manner, and they would make " one another happy." And when he had said this, he dismissed the assembly. Which speech was acceptable to the greatest part of the audience, but not so to them all, for the contention among his sons, and the hopes he had given them, occasioned thoughts and desires of innovations among them.

CHAP. V.

How Herod celebrated the games that were to return every fifth year, upon the building of Cæsarea; and how he built and adorned many other places after a magnificent manner; and did many other actions gloriously.

§ 1. ABOUT this time it was that Cæsarea Sebaste, which he had built, was finished. The entire building being accomplished in the tenth year, the solemnity of it fell into the twenty-eight year of Herod's reign, and into the hundred and ninety-second olympiad: There was accordingly a great festival, and most sumptuous preparations made presently, in order to its dedication, for he had appointed a contention in music, and games to be performed naked: He had also gotten ready a great number of those that fight single combats, and of beasts for the like purpose: horse races also, and the most chargeable of such sports and shows as used to be exhibited at Rome, and in other places. He consecrated this combat to Cæsar, and ordered it to be celebrated every fifth year. He also sent all sorts of ornaments for it out of his own furniture, that it might want nothing to make it decent: nay Julia, Cæsar's wife, sent a great part of her most valuable furniture [from Rome], insomuch that he had no want of any thing: The sum of them all was estimated at five hundred talents. Now when a great multitude was come to that city, to see the shows, as well as the ambassadors, whom other people sent, on account of the benefits they had re-

ceived [from Herod], he entertained them all in the public inns, and at public tables, and with perpetual feasts, this solemnity having in the day-time the diversions of the fights, and in the night-time such merry meetings as cost vast sums of money, and publicly demonstrated the generosity of his soul, for in all his undertakings he was ambitious to exhibit what exceeded whatsoever had been done before of the same kind. And it is related that Cæsar and Agrippa often said, That "the dominions "of Herod were too little for the greatness of his soul, for that "he deserved to have both all the kingdom of Syria, and that "of Egypt also."

2. After this solemnity and these festivals were over, Herod erected another city in the plain called Capharsaba, where he chose out a fit place, both for plenty of water, and goodness of soil, and proper for the production of what was there planted, where a river encompassed the city itself, and a grove of the best trees for magnitude was round about it: this he named antipatris, from his father Antipater. He also built upon another spot of ground above Jericho, of the same name with his mother, a place of great security, and very pleasant for habitation, and called it Cyprus. He also dedicated the finest monuments to his brother Phasaelus, on account of the great natural affection there had been between them, by erecting a tower in the city itself, not less than the tower of Pharos, which he named Phasaelus, which was at once a part of the strong defences of the city and a memorial for him that was deceased, because it bare his name. He also built a city of the same name in the valley of Jericho, as you go from it northward, whereby he rendered the neighbouring country more fruitful, by the cultivation its inhabitants introduced; and this also he called *Phasaelis.*

3. But as for his other benefits, it is impossible to reckon them up, those which he bestowed on cities, both in Syria and in Greece, and in all the places he came to in his voyages; for he seems to have conferred, and that after a most plentiful manner, what would minister to many necessities, and the building of public works, and gave them the money that was necessary to such works as wanted it, to support them upon the failure of their other revenues: but what was the greatest and most illustrious of all his works, he erected Apollo's temple at Rhodes, at his own expenses, and gave them a great number of talents of silver for the repair of their fleet. He also built the greatest part of the public edifices for the inhabitants of * Nicopolis,

* Dr. Hudson here gives us the words of Suetonius concerning this Nicopolis, when Augustus rebuilt it: "And that the memory of the victory at Actium might "be celebrated the more afterward, he built Nicopolis at Actium, and appointed "public shows to be there exhibited every fifth year, in August." § 18.

at Actium: And for the Antiochians, the inhabitants of the principal city in Syria, where a broad street cuts through the place lengthways, he built cloisters along it on both sides; and laid the open road with polished stone, and was of very great advantage to the inhabitants. And as to the olympic games, which were in a very low conditon, by reason of the failure of their revenues, he recovered their reputation, and appointed revenues, for their maintenance, and made that solemn meeting more venerable, as to the sacrifices and other ornaments: and by reason of this vast liberality, he was generally declared in their inscriptions to be one of the perpetual managers of those games.

4. Now some there are who stand amazed at the diversity of Herod's nature and purposes; for when we have respect to his magnificence, and the benefits which he bestowed on all mankind, there is no possibility for even those that had the least respect for him, to deny, or not openly to confess that he had a nature vastly beneficent; but when any one looks upon the punishments he inflicted, and the injuries he did, not only to his subjects, but to his nearest relations, and takes notice of his severe and unrelenting disposition there, he will be forced to allow, that it was brutish, and a stranger to all humanity, insomuch that these men suppose his nature to be different, and sometimes at contradiction with itself: but I am myself of another opinion, and imagine that the occasion of both these sort of actions was one and the same: for being a man ambitious of honour, and quite overcome by that passion, he was induced to be magnificent, whereever there appeared any hopes of a future memorial, or of reputation at present; and as his expenses were beyond his abilities, he was necessitated to be harsh to his subjects, for the persons on whom he expended his money were so many, that they made him a very bad procurer of it: and because he was conscious that he was hated by those under him, for the injuries he did them, he thought it not an easy thing to amend his offences, for that it was convenient for his revenue, he therefore strove on the other side to make their ill will an occasion of his gains. As to his own court, therefore, if any one was not very obsequious to him in his language, and would not confess himself to be his slave, or but seemed to think of any innovation in his government, he was not able to contain himself, but prosecuted his very kindred and friends, and punished them as if they were enemies; and this wickedness he undertook out of a desire that he might be himself alone honoured. Now for this my assertion about that passion of his, we have the greatest evidence, by what he did to honour Cæsar and Agrippa, and his other friends; for with what honours he paid his respects to them who were his

superiors, the same did he desire to be paid to himself; and what he thought the most excellent present he could make another, he discovered an inclination to have the like presented to himself. But now the Jewish nation is by their law a stranger to all such things, and accustomed to prefer righteousness to glory; for which reason that nation was not agreeable to him, because it was out of their power to flatter the king's ambition with statues or temples, or any other such performances. And this seems to me to have been at once the occassion of Herod's crimes as to his own courtiers and counsellors, and of his benefactions as to foreigners and those that had no relation to him.

CHAP. VI.

An embassage of the Jews in Cyrene and Asia to Cæsar, concerning the complaints they had to make against the Greeks: with copies of the epistles which Cæsar and Agrippa wrote to the cities for them.

§ 1. Now the cities ill treated the Jews in Asia, and all those also of the same nation which lived in Lybia, which joins to Cyrene, while the former kings had given them equal privileges with the other citizens; but the Greeks affronted them at this time, and that so far as to take away their sacred money, and to do them mischief on other particular occasions. When therefore they were thus afflicted, and found no end of the barbarous treatment they met with among the Greeks, they sent ambassadors to Cæsar on those accounts; who gave them the same privileges as they had before, and sent letters to the same purpose to the governors of the provinces, copies of which I subjoin here, as testimonials of the ancient favourable disposition the Roman emperors had towards us.

2. "Cæsar Augustus high priest, and tribune of the people, "ordains thus: Since the nation of the Jews hath been found "grateful to the Roman people, not only at this time, but in "time past also, and chiefly Hyrcanus the high priest, under "my father * Cæsar the emperor, it seemed good to me and "my counsellors, according to the sentence and oath of the people of Rome, that the Jews have liberty to make use of their "own customs, according to the law of their forefathers; as they "made use of them under Hyrcanus the high priest of Almighty God; and that their sacred money be not touched, but be "sent to Jerusalem, and that it be committed to the care of the

* Augustus here calls Julius Cæsar his *father*, though by birth he was only his *uncle*, on account of his adoption by him, See the same, Antiq. B. XIV. ch. xiv. § 4.

"receivers at Jerusalem; and that they be not obliged to go be-"fore any judge on the Sabbath-day, nor on the * day of the "preparation to it, after the ninth hour: But if any one be "caught stealing their holy books, or their sacred money, whe-"ther it be out of the synagogue, or public school, he shall be "deemed a sacrilegious person, and his goods shall be brought "into the public treasury of the Romans. And I give order, "that the testimonial which they have given me, on account "of my regard to that piety which I exercise toward all man-"kind, and out of regard to Caius Marcus Censorinus, toge-"ther with the present decree be proposed in that most emi-"nent place which hath been consecrated to me, by the commu-"nity of Asia at Ancyra. And if any one transgress any part "of what is above decreed, he shall be severely punished." This was inscribed upon a pillar in the temple of Cæsar.

3. "Cæsar to Norbanus Flaccus, sendeth greeting: Let "those Jews, how many soever they be, who have been used "according to their ancient custom, to send their sacred money "to Jerusalem, do the same freely." These were the decrees of Cæsar.

4. Agrippa also did himself write after the manner following, on behalf of the Jews: "Agrippa to the magistrates, senate, "and people of the Ephesians, sendeth greeting: I will that the "care and custody of the sacred money that is carried to the "temple at Jerusalem be left to the Jews of Asia, to do with it "according to their ancient custom; and that such as steal that "sacred money of the Jews, and fly to a sanctuary shall be "taken thence and delivered to the Jews, by the same law that "sacrilegious persons are taken thence. I have also written "to Sylvanus the pretor, that no one compel the Jews to come "before a judge on the Sabbath day."

5. "Marcus Agrippa, to the magistrates, senate, and people "of Cyrene, sendeth greeting: The Jews of Cyrene have inter-"ceded with me for the performance of what Augustus sent "orders about to Flavius, the then pretor of Lybia, and to the "other procurators of that province, that the sacred money may "be sent to Jerusalem freely, as hath been their custom from "their forefathers, they complaining that they are abused "by certain informers, and under pretence of taxes which "were not due, are hindered from sending them, which I com-"mand to be restored without any diminution or disturbance "given to them: And if any of that sacred money in the ci-

* This is authentic evidence, that the Jews, in the days of Augustus, began to prepare for the celebration of the Sabbath at the ninth hour on Friday, as the tradition of the elders did, it seems, then require of them.

"ties be taken from their proper receivers, I farther enjoin, that "the same be exactly returned to the Jews in that place."

6. "Caius Norbanus Flaccus, proconsul, to the magistrates "of the Sardians, sendeth greeting: Cæsar hath written to me, "and commanded me not to forbid the Jews, how many soever "they be, from assembling together according to the custom of "their forefathers, nor from sending their money to Jerusalem: "I have therefore written to you, that you may know that both "Cæsar and I would have you act accordingly."

7. Nor did Julius Antonius, the proconsul, write otherwise, "To the magistrates, senate, and people of the Ephesians, send-"eth greeting: As I was dispensing justice at Ephesus, on the "ides of February, the Jews that dwell in Asia demonstrated "to me, that Augustus and Agrippa had permitted them to "use their own laws and customs, and to offer those their first "fruits which every one of them freely offers to the Deity on "account of piety, and to carry them in a company together "to Jerusalem without disturbance. They also petitioned me, "that I also would confirm what had been granted by Augus-"tus and Agrippa by my own sanction. I would therefore "have you take notice, that according to the will of Augustus "and Agrippa, I permit them to use and do according to the "customs of their forefathers without disturbance."

8. I have been obliged to set down these decrees, because the present history of our own acts will go generally among the Greeks and I have hereby demonstrated to them that we have formerly been in great esteem, and have not been prohibited by those governors we were under from keeping any of the laws of our forefathers; nay, that we have been supported by them, while we followed our own religion, and the worship we paid to God: and I frequently make mention of these decrees, in order to reconcile other people to us, and to take away the causes of that hatred which unreasonable men bear to us. As for our * customs, there is no nation which always makes use of the same, and in every city almost we meet with them different from one another; but natural justice is most agreeable to the advantage of all men equally, both Greeks and Barbarians, to which our laws have the greatest regard, and thereby render us, if we abide in them after a pure manner, benevolent and friend-

* The remaining part of this chapter is a remarkable one, as justly distinguishing natural justice, religion, and morality, from positive institutions in all countries, and evidently preferring the former before the latter, as did the true prophets of God always under the Old Testament, and Christ and his Apostles always under the New; whence our Josephus seems to have been at this time nearer Christianity than were the Scribes and Pharisees of his age, who, as we know from the New Testament, were entirely of a different opinion and practice.

ly to all men: on which account we have reason to expect the like return from others, and to inform them that they ought not to esteem difference of positive institutions a sufficent cause of alienation, but [join with us in] the pursuit of virtue and probity, for this belongs to all men in common, and of itself alone is sufficient for the preservation of human life. I now return to the thread of my history.

CHAP. VII.

How upon Herod's going down into David's sepulchre, the sedition in his family greatly increased.

§ 1. As for Herod he had spent vast sums about the cities, both without and within his own kingdom: and as he had before heard that Hyrcanus, who had been king before him, had opened David's sepulchre, and taken out of it three thousand talents of silver, and that there was a much greater number left behind, and indeed enough to suffice all his wants, he had a great while an intention to make the attempt; and at this time he opened that sepulchre by night, and went into it, and endeavoured that it should not be at all known in the city, but took only his most faithful friends with him. As for any money, he found none, as Hyrcanus had done, but that furniture of gold, and those precious goods that were laid up there; all which he took away. However he had a great desire to make a more diligent search, and to go farther in, even as far as the very bodies of David and Solomon; where two of his guards were slain, by a flame that burst out upon those that went in, as the report was. So he was terribly affrighted, and went out and built a propitiatory monument of that fright he had been in, and this of white stone at the mouth of the sepulchre, and that at great expense also. And even * Nicholaus his historiographer makes mention of this monument built by Herod, though he does not mention his going down into the sepulchre, as knowing that action to be of ill repute; and many other things he treats of in the same manner in his book; for he wrote in Herod's lifetime, and under his reign, and so as to please him, and as a servant to

* It is here worth our observation, how careful Josephus was to the discovery of truth in Herod's history, since he would not follow Nicolaus of Damascus himself, so great an historian, where there was great reason to suspect that he flattered Herod; which impartiality in history Josephus here solemnly professes, and of which impartiality he has given more demonstrations than almost any historian whomsoever: But as to Herod's taking great wealth out of David's sepulchre, though I cannot prove it, yet do I strongly suspect it from this very history.

him, touching upon nothing but what tended to his glory, and openly excusing many of his notorious crimes, and very diligently concealing them. And as he was desirous to put handsome colours on the death of Mariamne, and her sons, which were barbarous actions in the king, he tells falsehoods about the incontinence of Mariamne; and the treacherous designs of his sons upon him; and thus he proceeded in his whole work, making a pompous encomium upon what just actions he had done, but earnestly apologizing for his unjust ones. Indeed, a man as I said, may have a great deal to say by way of excuse for Nicolaus; for he did not so properly write this as an history for others, as somewhat that might be subservient to the king himself. As for ourselves, who come of a family nearly allied to the Asamonean kings, and on that account have an honourable place, which is the priesthood, we think it indecent to say any thing that is false about them, and accordingly we have described their actions after an unblemished and upright manner. And although we reverence many of Herod's posterity, who still reign, yet do we pay a greater regard to truth than to them, and this though it sometimes happens that we incur their displeasure by so doing.

2. And indeed Herod's troubles in his family seemed to be augmented by reason of this attempt he made upon David's sepulchre, whether divine vengeance increased the calamities he lay under, in order to render them incurable, or whether fortune made an assault upon him in those cases, wherein the seasonableness of the cause made it strongly believed that the calamities came upon him for his impiety; for the tumult was like a civil war in his palace, and their hatred towards one another was like that where each one strove to exceed another in calumnies. However, Antipater used stratagems perpetually against his brethren, and that very cunningly: While abroad he loaded them with accusations, but still took upon him frequently to apolgize for them, that this apparent benevolence to them might make him be believed, and forward his attempts against them, by which means he after various manners, circumvented his father, who believed that all he did was for his preservation. Herod also recommended Ptolemy, who was a great director of the affairs of his kingdom to Antipater; and consulted with his mother about the public affairs also. And indeed these were all in all, and did what they pleased, and made the king angry against any other persons, as they thought it might be to their own advantage: but still the sons of Mariamne were in a worse and worse condition perpetually, and while they were thrust out, and set in a more dishonourable rank, who yet by birth were the most noble, they could not bear the dishonour. And for the women; Glaphyra, Alexander's wife, the daughter of Archelaus, hated Salome, both be-

cause of her love to her husband, and because Glaphyra seemed to behave herself somewhat insolently towards Salome's daughter, who was the wife of Aristobulus, which equality of hers to herself Glaphyra took very impatiently.

3. Now, besides this second contention that had fallen among them, neither did the king's brother Pheroras keep himself out of trouble, but had a particular foundation for suspicion and hatred; for he was overcome with the charms of his wife to such a degree of madness, that he despised the king's daughter, to whom he had been betrothed, and wholly bent his mind to the other, who had been but a servant. Herod also was grieved by the dishonour that was done him, because he had bestowed many favours upon him, and had advanced him to that height of power that he was almost a partner with him in the kingdom, and saw that he had not made him a due return for his favours, and esteemed himself unhappy on that account. So upon Pheroras's unworthy refusal, he gave the damsel to Phasaelus's son: but after some time, when he thought the heat of his brother's affections was over, he blamed him for his former conduct, and desired him to take his second daughter, whose name was Cypros. Ptolemy also advised him to leave off affronting his brother, and to forsake her whom he had loved, for that it was a base thing to be so enamoured of a servant, as to deprive himself of the king's good will to him, and become an occasion of his trouble, and make himself hated by him. Pheroras knew that this advice would be for his own advantage, particularly because he had been accused before, and forgiven; so he put his wife away, although he already had a son by her, and engaged to the king that he would take his second daughter, and agreed that the thirtieth day after should be the day of marriage; and sware he would have no farther conversation with her whom he had put away; but when the thirty days were over, he was such a slave to his affections, that he no longer performed any thing he had promised, but continued still with his former wife. This occasioned Herod to grieve openly, and made him angry, while the king dropped one word or other against Pheroras perpetually; and many made the king's anger an opportunity for raising calumnies against him. Nor had the king any longer a single quiet day or hour, but occasions of one fresh quarrel or another arose among his relations, and those that were dearest to him; for Salome was of an harsh temper, and ill-natured to Mariamne's sons; nor would she suffer her own daughter, who was the wife of Aristobulus, one of those young men, to bear a good-will to her husband, but persuaded her to tell her if he said any thing to her in private, and when any misunderstandings happened, as is common, she raised a great many suspicions out of it: by which means she

learned all their concerns, and made the damsel ill-natured to the young man. And in order to gratify her mother, she often said, that the young men used to mention Mariamne when they were by themselves: and that they hated their father, and were continually threatening, that if they had once got the kingdom, they would make Herod's sons by his other wives country schoolmasters, for that the present education which was given them, and their diligence in learning, fitted them for such an employment. And as for the women, whenever they saw them adorned with their mother's clothes, they threatened, that instead of their present gaudy apparel, they should be clothed in sackcloth, and confined so closely that they should not see the light of the sun. These stories were presently carried by Salome to the king, who was troubled to hear them, and endeavoured to make up matters: but these suspicions afflicted him, and becoming more and more uneasy, he believed every body against every body. However, upon his rebuking his sons, and hearing the defence they made for themselves, he was easier for a while, though a little afterwards much worse accidents came upon him.

4. For Pheroras came to Alexander, the husband of Glaphyra, who was the daughter of Archelaus, as we have already told you, and said, that he had heard from Salome, that Herod was enamoured on Glaphyra, and that his passion for her was incurable. When Alexander heard that, he was all on fire, from his youth and jealousy; and he interpreted the instances of Herod's obliging behaviour to her, which were very frequent, for the worse, which came from those suspicions he had on account of that word which fell from Pheroras; nor could he conceal his grief at the thing, but informed him what words Pheroras had said. Upon which Herod was in a greater disorder than ever; and not bearing such a false calumny, which was to his shame, was much disturbed at it: and often did he lament the wickedness of his domestics, and how good he had been to them, and how ill requitals they had made him. So he sent for Pheroras, and reproached him, and said, "Thou vilest of all men! art thou come "to that unmeasurable and extravagant degree of ingratitude, "as not only to suppose such things of me, but to speak of "them? I now indeed perceive what thy intentions are: It is "not thy only aim to reproach me, when thou usest such words "to my son, but thereby to persuade him to plot against me, "and get me destroyed by poison. And who is there, if he had "not a good genius at his elbow, as hath my son, but would "not bear such a suspicion of his father, but would revenge "himself upon him? Dost thou suppose that thou hast only "dropped a word for him to think of, and not rather hast put "a sword into his hand to slay his father? And what dost thou

"mean, when thou really hatest both him and his brother, to "pretend kindness to them, only in order to raise a reproach a- "gainst me, and talk of such things as no one but such an im- "pious wretch as thou art could either devise in their mind, or "declare in their words. Begone, thou that art such a plague "to thy benefactor, and thy brother, and may that evil con- "science of thine go along with thee; while I still overcome "my relations by kindness, and am so far from avenging my- "self of them, as they deserve, that I bestow greater benefits "upon them than they are worthy of."

5. Thus did the king speak. Whereupon Pheroras, who was caught in the very act of his villany, said, That "it was Salome "who was the framer of this plot, and that the words came "from her." But as soon as she heard that, for she was at hand, she cried out, like one that would be believed, that no such thing ever came out of her mouth; that they all earnestly endeavoured to make the king hate her, and to make her away, because of the good will she bore to Herod, and because she was always foreseeing the dangers that were coming upon him, and that at present there were more plots against him than usual; for while she was the only person who persuaded her brother to put away the wife he now had, and to take the king's daughter, it was no wonder if she were hated by him. As she said this, and often tore her hair, and often beat her breast; her countenance made her denial to be believed, but the perverseness of her manners declared at the same time her dissimulation in these proceedings: but Pheroras was caught between them, and had nothing plausible to offer in his own defence, while he confessed that he had said what was charged upon him, but was not believed when he said he had heard it from Salome: so the confusion among them was increased, and their quarrelsome words one to another. At last the king, out of his hatred to his brother and sister, sent them both away; and when he had commended the moderation of his son, and that he had himself told him of the report, he went in the evening to refresh himself. After such a contest as this had fallen out among them, Salome's reputation suffered greatly, since she was supposed to have first raised the calumny; and the king's wives were grieved at her, as knowing she was a very ill natured woman, and would sometimes be a friend, and sometimes an enemy at different seasons: So they perpetually said one thing or another against her, and somewhat that now fell out made them the bolder in speaking against her.

6. There was one Obodas, king of Arabia, an inactive and slothful man in his nature; but Sylleus managed most of his affairs to him. He was a shrewd man, although he were but young, and was handsome withal. This Sylleus, upon some

occasion coming to Herod, and supping with him, saw Salome, and set his heart upon her; and understanding that she was a widow, he discoursed with her. Now because Salome was at this time less in favour with her brother, she looked upon Sylleus with some passion, and was very earnest to be married to him; and on the days following there appeared many, and those very great indications of their agreement together. Now the women carried this news to the king, and laughed at the indecency of it; whereupon Herod inquired about it farther of Pheroras, and desired him to observe them at supper, how their behaviour was one toward another; who told him, that by the signals which came from their heads and their eyes, they both were evidently in love. After this Sylleus the Arabian being suspected, went away, but came again two or three months afterwards, as it were on that very design, and spake to Herod about it, and desired that Salome might be given him to wife; for that his affinity might not be disadvantageous to his affairs, by an union with Arabia, the government of which country was already in effect under his power, and more evidently would be his hereafter. Accordingly when Herod discoursed with his sister about it, and asked her, whether she were disposed to this match? she immediately agreed to it. But when Sylleus was desired to come over to the Jewish religion, and then he should marry her, and that it was impossible to do it on any other terms, he could not bear that proposal, and went his way; for he said that if he should do so, he should be stoned by the Arabs. Then did Pheroras reproach Salome for her incontinency, as did the women much more; and said that Sylleus had debauched her. As for that damsel, which the king had betrothed to his brother Pheroras, but he had not taken her, as I have before related, because he was enamoured on his former wife, Salome desired of Herod she might be given to her son by Costobarus; which match he was very willing to, but was dissuaded from it by Pheroras, who pleaded, that this young man would not be kind to her, since his father had been slain by him, and that it was more just that his son, who was to be his successor in the tetrarchy, should have her: So he begged his pardon, and persuaded him to do so. Accordingly the damsel, upon this change of her espousals, was disposed of to this young man, the son of Pheroras, the king giving for her portion an hundred talents.

CHAP. VIII.

How Herod took up Alexander, and bound him; whom yet Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, reconciled to his father Herod again.

§ 1. But still the affairs of Herod's family were no better, but perpetually more troublesome. Now this accident happened, which arose from no decent occasion, but proceeded so far as to bring great difficulties upon him. There were certain eunuchs which the king had, and on account of their beauty was very fond of them; and the care of bringing him drink was entrusted to one of them, of bringing him his supper to another, and of putting him to bed to the third, who almost managed the principal affairs of the government; and there was one told the king that these eunuchs were corrupted by Alexander the king's son, with great sums of money: And when they were asked, whether Alexander had had criminal conversation with them? they confessed it, but said they knew of no farther mischief of his against his father, but when they were more severely tortured, and where in the utmost extremity, and the tormentors, out of compliance with Antipater, stretched the rack to the very utmost, they said, that Alexander bare great ill-will and innate hatred to his father; and that he told them, that Herod despaired to live much longer; and that in order to cover his great age, he coloured his hair black, and endeavoured to conceal what would discover how old he was; but that if he would apply himself to him, when he should attain the kingdom, which, in spite of his father, could come to no one else, he should quickly have the first place in that kingdom under him, for that he was now ready to take the kingdom, not only as his birth-right, but by the preparations he had made for obtaining it, because a great many of the rulers, and a great many of his friends, were of his side, and those no ill men neither, ready both to do and to suffer whatsoever should come on that account.

2. When Herod heard this confession, he was all over anger and fear, some parts seeming to him reproachful, and some made him suspicious of dangers that attended him, insomuch that on both accounts he was provoked, and bitterly afraid lest some more heavy plot was laid against him than he should be then able to escape from; whereupon he did not now make an open search, but sent about spies to watch such as he suspected, for he was now over-run with suspicion and hatred against all about him; and indulging abundance of those suspicions, in order to his preservation, he continued to suspect those that were guiltless:

nor did he set any bounds to himself, but supposing that those who staid with him had the most power to hurt him, they were to him very frightful; and for those that did not use to come to him, it seemed enough to name them [to make them suspected] and he thought himself safer when they were destroyed: And at last his domestics were come to that pass, that being no way secure of escaping themselves, they fell to accusing one another, and imagining that he who first accused another, was most likely to save himself; yet, when any had overthrown others, they were hated, and they were thought to suffer justly, who unjustly accused others, and they only thereby prevented their own accusation; nay, they now executed their own private enmities by this means, and when they were caught, they were punished in the same way. Thus these men contrived to make use of this opportunity as an instrument and a snare against their enemies, yet when they tried it, were themselves caught also in the same snare which they laid for others: And the king soon repented of what he had done, because he had no clear evidence of the guilt of those whom he had slain; and yet what was still more severe in him, he did not make use of his repentance, in order to leave off doing the like again, but in order to inflict the same punishment upon their accusers.

3. And in this state of disorder were the affairs of the palace: and he had already told many of his friends directly, that they ought not to appear before him, nor come into the palace; and the reason of this injunction was, that [when they were there] he had less freedom of acting, or a greater restraint on himself on their account: for at this time it was that he expelled Andromachus and Gamellus, men who had of old been his friends, and been very useful to him in the affairs of his kingdom, and been of advantage to his family, by their ambassages and counsels; and had been tutors to his sons, and had in a manner the first degree of freedom with him. He expelled Andromachus, because his son Demetrius was a companion to Alexander; and Gamellus, because he knew that he wished him well, which arose from his having been with him in his youth, when he was at school, and absent at Rome. These he expelled out of his palace, and was willing enough to have done worse by them; but that he might not seem to take such liberty against men of so great reputation, he contented himself with depriving them of their dignity, and of their power to hinder his wicked proceedings.

4. Now it was Antipater, who was the cause of all this; who when he knew what a mad and licentious way of acting his father was in, and had been a great while one of his counsellors, he hurried him on, and then thought he should bring him to do

somewhat to purpose, when every one that could oppose him was taken away. When therefore Andromachus and his friends were driven away, and had no discourse nor freedom with the king any longer, the king in the first place, examined by torture all whom he thought to be faithful to Alexander, whether they knew of any of his attempts against him; but these died without having any thing to say to that matter, which made the king more zealous [after discoveries], when he could not find out what evil proceedings he suspected them of. As for Antipater, he was very sagacious to raise a calumny against those that were really innocent, as if their denial was only their constancy and fidelity [to Alexander], and thereupon provoked Herod to discover by the torture of great numbers, what attempts were still concealed. Now there was a certain person among the many that were tortured, who said, that he knew that the young man had often said, that when he was commended as a tall man in his body, and a skilful marksman, and that in his commendable exercises he exceeded all men, these qualifications given him by nature, though good in themselves, were not advantageous to him, because his father was grieved at them, and envied him for them; and that when he walked along with his father he endeavoured to depress and shorten himself that he might not appear too tall, and that when he shot at any thing as he was hunting, when his father was by, he missed his mark on purpose, for he knew how ambitious his father was of being superior in such exercises. So when the man was tormented about this saying, and had ease given his body after it, he added, that he had his brother Aristobulus for his assistance, and contrived to lie in wait for their father, as they were hunting, and kill him: and when they had done so, to fly to Rome, and desire to have the kingdom given them. There were also letters of the young man found, written to his brother, wherein he complained, that his father did not act justly in giving Antipater a country, whose [yearly] revenues amounted to two hundred talents. Upon these confessions Herod presently thought he had somewhat to depend on, in his own opinion, as to his suspicion about his sons: So he took up Alexander and bound him: yet did he still continue to be uneasy, and was not quite satisfied of the truth of what he had heard; and when he came to recollect himself, he found that they had only made juvenile complaints and contentions, and that it was an incredible thing, that when his son should have slain him, he should openly go to Rome [to beg the kingdom], so he was desirous to have some surer mark of his son's wickedness, and was very solicitous about it, that he might not appear to have condemned him to be put in prison too rashly; so he tortured the principal of Alexander's friends, and put not a few of them to death, without get-

ting any of the things out of them which he suspected. And while Herod was very busy about this matter, and the palace was full of terror and trouble, one of the younger sort, when he was in the utmost agony, confessed that Alexander had sent to his friends at Rome, and desired that he might be quickly invited thither by Cæsar, and that he could discover a plot against him, that Mithridates, the king of Parthia, was joined in a friendship with his father against the Romans, and that he had a poisonous potion ready prepared at Askelon.

5. To these accusations Herod gave credit, and enjoyed hereby, in his miserable case, some sort of consolation, in excuse of his rashness, as flattering himself with finding things in so bad a condition: but as for the poisonous potion, which he laboured to find, he could find none. As for Alexander, he was very desirous to aggravate the vast misfortunes he was under, so he pretended not to deny the accusations, but punished the rashness of his father with a great crime of his own; and perhaps he was willing to make his father ashamed of his easy belief of such calumnies: he aimed especially, if he could gain belief to his story, to plague him, and his whole kingdom; for he wrote four letters, and sent them to him, that "he did not need to torture any more persons, "for he had plotted against him; and that he had for his partners Pheroras, and the most faithful of his friends; and that "Salome came in to him by night, and that she lay with him "whether he would or no; and that all men were come to be "of one mind, to make away with him as soon as they could, "and so get clear of the continual fear they were in from him." Among these were accused Ptolemy, and Sapinnius, who were the most faithful friends to the king. And what more can be said, but that those who before were the most intimate friends, were become wild beasts to one another, as if a certain madness had fallen upon them, while there was no room for defence or refutation, in order to the discovery of the truth, but all were at random doomed to destruction; so that some lamented those that were in prison, some those that were put to death, and others lamented that they were in the expectation of the same miseries; and a melancholy solitude rendered the kingdom deformed, and quite the reverse to that happy state it was formerly in, Herod's own life also was entirely disturbed: and because he could trust nobody, he was sorely punished by the expectation of farther misery, for he often fancied in his imagination, that his son had fallen upon him, or stood by him with a sword in his hand; and thus was his mind night and day intent upon this thing, and revolved it over and over, no otherwise than if he were under a distraction. And this was the sad condition Herod was now in.

6. But when Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, heard of the state that Herod was in, and being in great distress about his daughter; and the young man [her husband], and grieving with Herod, as with a man that was his friend, on account of so great a disturbance as he was under, he came [to Jerusalem] on purpose to compose their differences; and when he found Herod in such a temper, he thought it wholly unseasonable to reprove him, or to pretend that he had done any thing rashly, for that he should thereby naturally bring him to dispute the point with him, and by still more and more apologizing for himself to be the more irritated. He went therefore another way to work, in order to correct the former misfortunes, and appeared angry at the young man and said, that Herod had been so very mild a man, that he had not acted a rash part at all. He also said, he would dissolve his daughter's marriage with Alexander, nor could in justice spare his own daughter, if she were conscious of any thing, and did not inform Herod of it. When Archelaus appeared to be of this temper, and otherwise than Herod expected or imagined, and for the main, took Herod's part, and was angry on his account, the king abated of his harshness, and took occasion from his appearing to have acted justly hitherto, to come by degrees to put on the affection of a father, and was on both sides to be pitied; for when some persons refuted the calumnies that were laid on the young man, he was thrown into a passion, but when Archelaus joined in the accusation, he was dissolved into tears and sorrow after an affectionate manner. Accordingly, he desired that he would not dissolve his son's marriage, and became not so angry as before for his offences. So when Archelaus had brought him to a more moderate temper, he transferred the calumnies upon his friends; and said, it must be owing to them that so young a man, and one unacquainted with malice, was corrupted, and he supposed that there was more reason to suspect the brother than the son. Upon which Herod was very much displeased at Pheroras, who indeed now had no one that could make a reconciliation between him and his brother so when he saw that Archelaus had the greatest power with Herod, he betook himself to him in the habit of a mourner, and like one that had all the signs upon him of an undone man. Upon this Archelaus did not overlook the intercession he made to him, nor yet did he undertake to change the king's disposition towards him immediately, and he said, that it was better for him to come himself to the king, and confess himself the occasion of all, that this would make the king's anger not to be extravagant towards him, and that then he would be present to assist him. When he had persuaded him to this, he gained his point with both of them; and the calumnies raised against the young man were, beyond

all expectation, wiped off. And Archelaus, as soon as he had made the reconciliation, went then away to Cappadocia, having proved at this juncture of time the most acceptable person to Herod in the world; on which account he gave him the richest presents, as tokens of his respect to him, and being on other occasions magnanimous, he esteemed him one of his dearest friends. He also made an agreement with him that he would go to Rome, because he had written to Cæsar about these affairs; so they went together as far as Antioch, and there Herod made a reconciliation between Archelaus and Titus, the president of Syria, who had been greatly at variance, and so returned back to Judea.

CHAP. IX.

Concerning the revolt of the Trachonites: How Sylleus accused Herod before Cæsar: and how Herod when Cæsar was angry at him, resolved to send Nicolaus to Rome.

§ 1. WHEN Herod had been at Rome and was come back again, a war arose between him and the Arabians, on the occasion following: The inhabitants of Trachonitis, after Cæsar had taken the country away from Zednodorus, and added it to Herod, had not now power to rob, but were forced to plough the land, and to live quietly, which was a thing they did not like; and when they did take that pains, the ground did not produce much fruit for them. However, at the first the king would not permit them to rob, and so they abstained from that unjust way of living upon their neighbours, which procured Herod a great reputation for his care: But when he was sailing to Rome, it was at that time when he went to accuse his son Alexander, and to commit Antipater to Cæsar's protection, the Trachonites spread a report as if he were dead, and revolted from his dominion, and betook themselves again to their accustomed way of robbing their neighbours; at which time the king's commanders subdued them during his absence, but about forty of the principal robbers, being terrified by those that had been taken, left the country, and retired into Arabia, Sylleus entertaining them, after he had missed of marrying Salome, and gave them a place of strength in which they dwelt. So they overran not only Judea, but all Cœlesyria also, and carried off the prey, while Sylleus afforded them places of protection and quietness during their wicked practices. But when Herod came back from Rome, he perceived that his dominions had greatly suffered by them, and since he could not reach the robbers themselves, because of the secure retreat they had in that country, and which

the Arabians government afforded them, and yet being very uneasy at the injuries they had done him, he went all over Trachonites, and slew their relations; whereupon these robbers were more angry than before, it being a law among them to be avenged on the murderers of their relations by all possible means, so they continued to tear and rend every thing under Herod's dominion with impunity: Then did he discourse about these robberies to Saturninus and Volumnius, and required that they should be punished; upon which occasion they still the more confirmed themselves in their robberies, and became more numerous; and made very great disturbances, laying waste the countries and villages that belonged to Herod's kingdom, and killing those men whom they caught, till these unjust proceedings came to be like a real war, for the robbers were now become about a thousand. At which Herod was sore displeased, and required the robbers, as well as the money which he had lent Obodas, by Sylleus, which was sixty talents, and since the time of payment was now past, he desired to have it paid him; but Sylleus, who had laid Obodas aside, and managed all by himself, denied that the robbers were in Arabia, and put off the payment of the money; about which there was an hearing before * Saturninus and Volumnius, who were then the presidents of Syria. At last, he, by their means, agreed, that within thirty days' time Herod should be paid his money, and that each of them should deliver up the other's subjects reciprocally. Now, as to Herod, there was not one of the other's subjects found in his kingdom, either as doing any injustice, or on any other account, but it was proved that the Arabians had the robbers amongst them.

2. When this day appointed for payment of the money was past, without Sylleus's performing any part of his agreement, and he was gone to Rome, Herod demanded the payment of the money, and that the robbers that were in Arabia should be delivered up; and, by the permission of Saturninus and Volumnius executed the judgment himself upon those that were refractory. He took an army that he had, and led it into Arabia, and in three days' time, by forced marches, arrived at the garrison wherein the robbers were, he made an assault upon them, and took them all, and demolished the place, which was called *Raepta*, but did no harm to any others; but as the Arabians came to their assistance, under Nacebus their captain, there ensued a battle, wherein a few of Herod's soldiers, and Nacebus,

* These joint presidents of Syria, Saturninus and Volumnius, were not perhaps of equal authority, but the latter like a procurator under the former, as the very learned Noris and Pagi, and with them Dr. Hudson, determine.

the captain of the Arabians, and about twenty of his soldiers, fell, while the rest betook themselves to flight. So when he had brought these to punishment, he placed three thousand Idumeans in Trachonitis, and thereby restrained the robbers that were there. He also sent an account to the captains that were about Phenicia, and demonstrated that he had done nothing but what he ought to do, in punishing the refractory Arabians, which, upon an exact inquiry, they found to be no more than what was true.

3. However, messengers were hasted away to Sylleus to Rome and informed him what had been done, and, as is usual, aggravated every thing. Now Sylleus had already insinuated himself into the knowledge of Cæsar, and was then about the palace: and as soon as he heard of these things, he changed his habit into black, and went in, and told Cæsar, That "Arabia was afflicted with war, and that all his kingdom was in great confusion, upon Herod's laying it waste with his army; and he said, with tears in his eyes, that two thousand five hundred of the principal men among the Arabians had been destroyed, and that their captain Nacebus, his familiar friend and kinsman was slain; and that the richesth at were at Raepta were carried off; and that Obodas was despised, whose infirm state of body rendered him unfit for war; on which account neither he, nor the Arabian army, were present." When Sylleus said so, and added invidiously, That "he would not himself have come out of the country, unless he had believed that Cæsar would have provided that they should all have peace one with another, and that, had he been there, he would have taken care that the war should not have been to Herod's advantage." Cæsar was provoked when this was said; and asked no more than this one question, both of Herod's friends that were there, and of his own friends, who were come from Syria, "Whether Herod had led an army thither?" and when they were forced to confess so much, Cæsar, without staying to hear for what reason he did it, and how it was done, grew very angry, and wrote to Herod sharply. The sum of his epistle was this, That "whereas of old he had used him as his friend he should now use him as his subject." Sylleus also wrote an account of this to the Arabians; who were so elevated with it, that they neither delivered up the robbers that had fled to them, nor paid the money that was due: they retained those pastures also which they had hired, and kept them without paying their rent, and all this because the king of the Jews was now in a low condition, by reason of Cæsar's anger at him. Those of Trachonitis also made use of this opportunity, and rose up against the Idumean garrison, and followed the same way of robbing with

the Arabians, who had pillaged their country, and were more rigid in their unjust proceedings, not only in order to get by it, but by way of revenge also.

4. Now Herod was forced to bear all this, that confidence of his being quite gone with which Cæsar's favour used to inspire him; for Cæsar would not admit so much as an embassage from him to make an apology for him: and when they came again, he sent them away without success: So he was cast into sadness and fear; and Sylleus's circumstances grieved him exceedingly, who was now believed by Cæsar, and was present at Rome, nay, sometimes aspiring higher. Now it came to pass that Obodas was dead: and Eneas, whose name was afterwards changed to * Aretas, took the government, for Sylleus endeavoured by calumnies to get him turned out of his principality, that he might himself take it; with which design he gave much money to the courtiers, and promised much money to Cæsar, who indeed was angry that Aretas had not sent to him first before he took the kingdom, yet did Eneas send an epistle and presents to Cæsar, and a golden crown, of the weight of many talents. Now that epistle accused Sylleus as having been a wicked servant, and having killed Obodas by poison; and that while he was alive, he had governed him as he pleased; and had also debauched the wives of the Arabians; and had borrowed money, in order to obtain the dominion for himself: yet did not Cæsar give heed to these accusations, but sent his ambassadors back, without receiving any of his presents: but in the mean time the affairs of Judea and Arabia became worse and worse, partly because of the anarchy they were under, and partly because, as bad as they were, nobody had power to govern them, for of the two kings, the one was not yet confirmed in his kingdom, and so had not authority sufficient to restrain the evil doers; and as for Herod, Cæsar was immediately angry at him, for having avenged himself, and so he was compelled to bear all the injuries that were offered him. At length, when he saw no end of the mischief which surrounded him, he resolved to send ambassadors to Rome again, to see whether his friends had prevailed to mitigate Cæsar, and to address themselves to Cæsar himself: and the ambassador he sent thither was Nicolaus of Damascus.

* This Aretas was now become so established a name for the kings of Arabia, [at Petra, and Damascus], that when the crown came to this Eneas, he changed his name to *Aretas*, as Havercamp here justly observes. See Antiq. B. XIII. ch. xv. § 2. vol. II.

CHAP. X.

How Eurycles falsely accused Herod's sons; and how their father bound them, and wrote to Cæsar about them. Of Sylleus, and how he was accused by Nicolaus.

§ 1. THE disorders about Herod's family and children about this time grew much worse; for it now appeared certain, nor was it unforeseen before-hand, that fortune threatened the greatest and most insupportable misfortunes possible to his kingdom. Its progress and augmentation at this time arose on the occasion following: One Eurycles, a Lacedemonian (a person of note there, but a man of a perverse mind, and so cunning in his ways of voluptuousness and flattery, as to indulge both, and yet seem to indulge neither of them), came in his travels to Herod, and made him presents, but so that he received more presents from him. He also took such proper seasons for insinuating himself into his friendship, that he became one of the most intimate of the king's friends. He had his lodging in Antipater's house; but he had not only access, but free conversation with Alexander, as pretending to him that he was in great favour with Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia; whence he pretended much respect to Glaphyra, and, in an occult manner, cultivated a friendship with them all, but always attending to what was said and done, that he might be furnished with calumnies to please them all. In short, he behaved himself so to every body in his conversation, as to appear to be his particular friend, and he made others believe that his being any where was for that person's advantage. So he won upon Alexander, who was but young; and persuaded him, that he might open his grievances to him with assurance, and with nobody else. So he declared his grief to him, how his father was alienated from him. He related to him also the affairs of his mother, and of Antipater; that he had driven them from their proper dignity, and had the power over every thing himself; that no part of this was tolerable, since his father was already come to hate them; and he added, that he would neither admit them to his table, nor to his conversation. Such were the complaints, as was but natural, of Alexander, about the things that troubled him: and these discourses Eurycles carried to Antipater; and told him, he did not inform him of this on his own account, but that being overcome by his kindness, the great importance of the thing obliged him to do it: and he warned him to have a care of Alexander, for that what he said was spoken wth vehemency, and that, in consequence of what he said, he would certainly kill him with his own hand. Whereupon Antipater,

thinking him to be his friend by this advice, gave him presents, upon all occasions, and at length persuaded him to inform Herod of what he had heard. So when he related to the king Alexander's ill temper, as discovered by the words he had heard him speak, he was easily believed by him, and he thereby brought the king to that pass, turning him about by his words, and irritating him, till he increased his hatred to him, and made him implacable, which he shewed at that very time, for he immediately gave Eurycles a present of fifty talents; who, when he had gotten them, went to Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and commended Alexander before him, and told him that he had been many ways of advantage to him in making a reconciliation between him and his father. So he got money from him also, and went away, before his pernicious practices were found out; but when Eurycles was returned to Lacedemon, he did not leave off doing mischief, and so, for his many acts of injustice, he was banished from his own country.

2. But as for the king of the Jews, he was not now in the temper he was in formerly towards Alexander and Aristobulus, when he had been content with the hearing their calumnies when others told him of them, but he was now come to that pass as to hate them himself, and to urge men to speak against them, though they did not do it of themselves. He also observed all that was said, and put questions, and gave ear to every one that would but speak, if they could but say any thing against them, till at length he heard that Euaratus of Cos was a conspirator with Alexander, which thing to herod was the most agreeable and sweetest news imaginable.

3. But still a greater misfortune came upon the young men; while the calumnies against them were continually increased, and, as a man may say, one would think it was every one's endeavour to lay some grievous thing to their charge, which might appear to be for the king's preservation. There were two guards of Herod's body, who were in great esteem for their strength and tallness, Jucundus and Tyrannus; these men had been cast off by Herod, who was displeased at them; these now used to ride along with Alexander, and for their skill in their exercises were in great esteem with him, and had some gold and other gifts bestowed upon them. Now the king having an immediate suspicion of those men, had them tortured, who endured the torture courageously for a long time, but at last confessed that Alexander would have persuaded them to kill Herod, when he was in pursuit of the wild beasts? That it might be said he fell from his horse, and was run through with his own spear, for that he had once such a misfortune formerly. They also shewed where there was money hidden in the stable under ground, and

these convicted the king's chief hunter, that he had given the young men the royal hunting spears and weapons to Alexander's dependents, at Alexander's command.

4. After these, the commander of the garrison of Alexandrium was caught and tortured; for he was accused to have promised to receive the young men into his fortress, and to supply them with that money of the king's which was laid up in that fortress, yet did he not acknowledge any thing of it himself; but his son came in, and said it was so, and delivered up the writing, which, so far as could be guessed, was in Alexander's hand. Its contents were these: "When we have finished, by God's help, all "that we have proposed to do, we will come to you; but do "your endeavours, as you have promised, to receive us into "your fortress." After this writing was produced, Herod had no doubt about the treacherous designs of his sons against him. But Alexander said, that Diophantus the scribe, had imitated his hand, and that the paper was maliciously drawn up by Antipater; for Diophantus appeared to be very cunning in such practices, and as he was afterward convicted of forging other papers, he was put to death for it.

5. So the king produced those that had been tortured before the multitude at Jericho, in order to have them accuse the young men; which accusers many of the people stoned to death; and when they were going to kill Alexander, and Aristobulus likewise, the king would not permit them to do so, but restrained the multitude, by the means of Ptolemy and Pheroras. However, the young men were put under a guard, and kept in custody, that nobody might come at them; and all that they did or said was watched, and the reproach and fear they were in was little or nothing different from those of condemned criminals: and one of them, who was Aristobulus, was so deeply affected, that he brought Salome, who was his aunt, and his mother-in-law, to lament with him for his calamities, and to hate him who had suffered things to come to that pass; when he said to her, "Art "not thou in danger of destruction also, while the report goes "that thou hadst disclosed before-hand all our affairs to Sylleus, "when thou wast in hopes of being married to him? But she immediately carried those words to her brother; Upon this he was out of patience, and gave command to bind him; and enjoined them both, now they were kept separate one from the other, to write down the ill things they had done against their father, and bring the writings to him. So when this was enjoined them, they wrote this, that they had laid no treacherous designs, nor made any preparations against their father, but that they had intended to fly away; and that by the distress they were in, their lives being now uncertain and tedious to them.

6. About this time there came an ambassador out of Cappadocia from Archelaus, whose name was *Melas*; he was one of the principal rulers under him. So Herod being desirous to shew Archelaus's ill will to him, called for Alexander, as he was in his bonds, and asked him again concerning his flight, whether and how they had resolved to retire? Alexander replied, "To Archelaus, who had promised to send them away to Rome, "but that they had no wicked nor mischievous designs against "their father, and that nothing of that nature which their adversaries had charged upon them was true; and that their desire was, that he might have examined Tyrannus, and Jucundus, more strictly, but that they had been suddenly slain by "the means of Antipater, who put his own friends among the "multitude [for that purpose]."

7. When this was said, Herod commanded that both Alexander and Melas should be carried to Glaphyra, Archelaus's daughter, and that she should be asked, whether she did not know somewhat of Alexander's treacherous designs against Herod? Now as soon as they were come to her, and she saw Alexander in bonds, she beat her head, and in a great consternation, gave a deep and moving groan. The young man also fell into tears. This was so miserable a spectacle to those present, that, for a great while, they were not able to say or do any thing; but at length Ptolemy, who was ordered to bring Alexander, bid him say, whether his wife were conscious of his actions? He replied, "How is it possible that she, whom I love better than my "own soul, and by whom I have had children, should not know "what I do?" Upon which she cried out, That "she knew of "no wicked designs of his; but that yet, if her accusing herself "falsely would tend to his preservation, she would confess it "all." Alexander replied, "There is no such wickedness as "those (who ought the least of all so to do) suspect, which either "I have imagined, or thou knowest of, but this only, that we "had resolved to retire to Archelaus, and from thence to Rome." Which she also confessed. Upon which Herod, supposing that Archelaus's ill will to him was fully proved, he sent a letter by Olympus and Volumnius; and bid them, as they sailed by, to touch at Eleusa of Cilicia, and give Archelaus the letter. And that when they had expostulated with him that had an hand in his son's treacherous design against him, they should from thence sail to Rome; and, that, in case they found Nicolaus had gained any ground, and that Cæsar was no longer displeased at him, he should give him his letters, and the proofs which he had ready to shew against the young men. As to Archelaus he made this defence for himself, That "he had promised to receive the young men, because it was both for their own and

" their father's advantage so to do, lest some too severe proce-
" dure should be gone upon in that anger and disorder they
" were in on occasion of the present suspicions; but that still
" he had not promised to send them to Cæsar: and that he had
" not promised any thing else to the young men that could
" shew ill will to him."

8. When these ambassadors were come to Rome, they had a fit opportunity of delivering their letters to Cæsar; because they found him reconciled to Herod; for the circumstance of Nicolaus's ambassage had been as follows: As soon as he was come to Rome, and was about the court, he did not first of all set about what he was come for only, but he thought fit also to accuse Sylleus. Now the Arabians, even before he came to talk with them, were quarrelling one with another, and some of them left Sylleus's party, and joining themselves to Nicolaus, informed him of all the wicked things that had been done; and produced to him evident demonstrations of the slaughter of a great number of Obodas's friends by Sylleus, for when these men left Sylleus, they had carried off with them those letters whereby they could convict him. When Nicolaus saw such an opportunity afforded him, he made use of it, in order to gain his own point afterward, and endeavoured immediately to make a reconciliation between Cæsar and Herod; for he was fully satisfied, that if he should desire to make a defence for Herod directly, he should not be allowed that liberty; but that if he desired to accuse Sylleus, there would an occasion present itself of speaking on Herod's behalf. So when the cause was ready for a hearing, and the day was appointed, Nicolaus, while Aretas's ambassadors were present, accused Sylleus, and said, That " he imputed to " him the destruction of the king [Obodas], and of many others " of the Arabians: that he had borrowed money, for no good " design; and he proved that he had been guilty of adultery, not " only with the Arabians, but Roman women also." And he added, That " above all the rest he had alienated Cæsar from " Herod; and that all that he had said about the actions of He- " rod were falsities." When Nicolaus was come to this topic, Cæsar stopped him from going on, and desired him only to speak to this affair of Herod's; and to shew that " he had not led an army " into Arabia, nor slain two thousand five hundred men there, " nor taken prisoners, nor pillaged the country." To which Nicolaus made this answer, " I shall principally demonstrate, " that either nothing at all, or but a very little of those imputa- " tions are true, of which thou hast been informed, for had they " been true, thou mightest justly have been still more angry " at Herod." At this strange assertion Cæsar was very attentive; and Nicolaus said, That there was a debt due to He-

" rod of five hundred talents, and a bond, wherein it was written, that if the time appointed be elapsed, it should be lawful " to make a seizure out of any part of his country. As for " the pretended army, he said, it was no army, but a party sent " out to require the just payment of the money: that this was " not sent immediately, nor so soon as the bond allowed, but " that Sylleus had frequently come before Saturninus, and Volumnius, the presidents of Syria; and that at last he had sworn " at Berytus, * by thy fortune, that he would certainly pay " the money within thirty days, and deliver up the fugitives that " were under his dominion. And that when Sylleus had performed nothing of this, Herod came again before the presidents; " and upon their permission to make a seizure for his money, " he, with difficulty, went out of his country with a party of " soldiers for that purpose. And this is all the war which " these men so tragically describe; and this is the affair of the expedition into Arabia. And how can this be called a war? when " thy presidents permitted it; the covenants allowed it; and it " was not executed till thy name, O Cæsar, as well as that of " the other gods, had been profaned. And now I must speak " in order about the captives. There were robbers that " dwelt in Trachonites; at first their number was no more than " forty, but they became more afterwards, and they escaped the " punishment Herod would have inflicted on them, by making " Arabia their refuge. Sylleus received them, and supported " them with food, that they might be mischievous to all mankind, and gave them a country to inhabit, and himself received the gains they made by robbery; yet did he promise that " he would deliver up these men, and that by the same oaths, " and same time that he sware and fixed for payment of his " debt: nor can he by any means show that any other persons have at this time been taken out of Arabia, besides these, " and indeed not all these neither, but only so many as could " not conceal themselves. And thus does the calumny of " the captives, which hath been so odiously represented, appear to be no better than a fiction and a lie, made on purpose " to provoke thy indignation; for I venture to affirm, that " when the forces of the Arabians came upon us, and one or two " of Herod's party fell, he then only defended himself, and there " fell Nacebus their general, and in all, about twenty-five others " and no more; whence Sylleus, by multiplying every single " soldier to an hundred, he reckons the slain to have been two " thousand five hundred."

* This oath, *by the fortune of Cæsar*, was put to Polycarp, a bishop of Smyrna, by the Roman governor, to try whether he were a Christian, as they were then esteemed who refused to swear that oath. Martyr, Polycarp, § 9.

9. This provoked Cæsar more than ever: So he turned to Sylleus full of rage, and asked him how many of the Arabians were slain? Hereupon he hesitated, and said he had been imposed upon. The covenants also were read about the money he had borrowed, and the letters of the presidents of Syria, and the complaints of the several cities, so many as had been injured by the robbers. The conclusion was this, that Sylleus was condemned to die, and that Cæsar was reconciled to Herod, and owned his repentance for what severe things he had written to him, occasioned by calumny, insomuch that he told Sylleus, that he had compelled him, by his lying account of things, to be guilty of ingratitude against a man that was his friend. At the last all came to this, Sylleus was sent away to answer Herod's suit, and to repay the debt that he owed, and after that to be punished [with death]: But still Cæsar was offended with Aretas, that he had taken upon himself the government, without his consent first obtained, for he had determined to bestow Arabia upon Herod; but that the letters he had sent hindered him from so doing, for Olympus and Volumnius, perceiving that Cæsar was now become favourable to Herod, thought fit immediately to deliver him the letters they were commanded by Herod to give him concerning his sons. When Cæsar had read them, he thought it would not be proper to add another government to him, now he was old, and in an ill state with relation to his sons, so he admitted Aretas's ambassadors; and after he had just reproved him for his rashness, in not tarrying till he received the kingdom from him, he accepted of his presents, and confirmed him in his government.

CHAP. XI.

How Herod, by permission from Cæsar, accused his sons before an assembly of judges at Berytus; and what Tero suffered for using a boundless and military liberty of speech. Concerning also the death of the young men, and their burial at Alexandrium.

§ 1. So Cæsar was now reconciled to Herod; and wrote thus to him, That "he was grieved for him on account of "his sons; and that in case they had been guilty of any profane "and insolent crimes against him, it would behove him to punish them as parricides, for which he gave him power accordingly; but if they had only contrived to fly away, he would "have him give them an admonition, and not proceed to extremity with them. He also advised him to get an assembly

"together, and to appoint some place near * Berytus, which "is a city belonging to the Romans, and to take the presidents of Syria, and Archelaus king of Cappadocia, and as "many more as he thought to be illustrious, for their friendship to him, and the dignities they were in, and determine "what should be done by their approbation." These were the directions that Cæsar gave him. Accordingly Herod, when the letter was brought to him, was immediately very glad of Cæsar's reconciliation to him, and very glad also that he had a complete authority given him over his sons. And it strangely came about, that whereas before, in his adversity, though he had indeed shewed himself severe, yet had he not been very rash, nor hasty in procuring the destruction of his sons, he now, in his prosperity, took advantage of this change for the better, and the freedom he now had, to exercise his hatred against them, after an unheard of manner; he therefore sent and called as many as he thought fit to this assembly, excepting Archelaus, for as for him, he either hated him, so that he would not invite him, or he thought he would be an obstacle to his designs.

2. When the presidents, and the rest that belonged to the cities, were come to Berytus, he kept his sons in a certain village belonging to Sidon, called *Platana*, but near to this city, that if they were called he might produce them, for he did not think fit to bring them before the assembly: and when there were one hundred and fifty assessors present, Herod came by himself alone, and accused his sons, and that in such a way as if it were not a melancholy accusation, and not made but out of necessity, and upon the misfortunes he was under: indeed in such a way, as was very indecent for a father to accuse his sons, for he was very vehement and disordered, when he came to the demonstration of the crime they were accused of, and gave the greatest signs of passion and barbarity: nor would he suffer the assessors to consider of the weight of the evidence, but asserted them to be true by his own authority, after a manner most indecent in a father against his sons, and read himself what they themselves had written, wherein there was no confession of any plots or contrivances against him. But only how they had contrived to fly away, and containing withal certain reproaches against him, on account of the ill will he bare them; and when he came to those

* What Josephus relates Augustus to have here said, that Berytus *was a city belonging to the Romans*, is confirmed by Spanheim's notes here, "It was, says "he, a colony placed there by Augustus. Whence Ulpian. *De cens. bel. L. T.* "*XV. The colony of Berytus was rendered famous by the benefits of Cæsar:* And "thence it is that, among the coins of Augustus, we meet with some having "this inscription: *The happy colony of Augustus at Berytus.*"

reproaches, he cried out most of all, and exaggerated what they said, as if they had confessed the design against him, and took his oath that he had rather lose his life than hear such reproachful words. At last he said, That "he had sufficient authority "both by nature, and by Cæsar's grant to him, [to do what he "thought fit]. He also added an allegation of a law of their "country which enjoined this. That if parents laid their hands "on the head of him that was accused, the standers by were obliged to cast stones at him, and thereby to slay him, which though "he were ready to do in his own country and kingdom, yet did "he wait for their determination: that yet they came thither "not so much as judges, to condemn them for such manifest "designs against him, whereby he had almost perished by his "sons' means, but as persons that had an opportunity of shewing "their detestation of such practices, and declaring how unworthy "a thing it must be in any, even the most remote, to pass "such treacherous designs [without punishment."]

3. When the king had said this, and the young men had not been produced to make any defence for themselves, the assessors perceived there was no room for equity and reconciliation, so they confirmed his authority. And in the first place, Saturninus, a person that had been consul, and one of great dignity, pronounced his sentence, but with great moderation and trouble; and said, "That he condemned Herod's sons, but did not "think they should be put to death. He had sons of his own, "and to put one's son to death, is a greater misfortune than "any other that could befall him by their means." After him Saturninus's sons, for he had three sons that followed him, and were his legates, pronounced the same sentence with their father: On the contrary, Volumnius's sentence was to inflict death on such as had been so impiously undutiful to their father; and the greatest part of the rest said the same, insomuch that the conclusion seemed to be, that the young men were condemned to die. Immediately after this Herod came away from thence, and took his sons to Tyre, where Nicolaus met him in his voyage from Rome: of whom he inquired, after he had related to him what had passed at Berytus, what his sentiments were about his sons, and what his friends at Rome thought of that matter? His answer was, "That what they had determined to do to thee "was impious, and that thou oughtest to keep them in prison; "and if thou thinkest any thing farther necessary, thou mayest "indeed so punish them, that thou mayest not appear to indulge "thy anger more than to govern thyself by judgment; but if "thou inclinest to the milder side, thou mayest absolve them, "lest perhaps thy misfortunes be rendered incurable: And this "is the opinion of the greatest part of thy friends at Rome

"also." Whereupon Herod was silent, and in great thoughtfulness, and bid Nicolaus sail along with him.

4. Now as they came to Cæsarea, every body was there talking of Herod's sons, and the kingdom was in suspence, and the people in great expectation of what would become of them, for a terrible fear seized upon all men, lest the ancient disorders of the family should come to a sad conclusion, and they were in great trouble about their sufferings; nor was it without danger to say any rash thing about this matter: nor even to hear another saying it, but men's pity was forced to be shut up in themselves, which rendered the excess of their sorrow very irksome, but very silent; yet was there an old soldier of Herod's, whose name was *Tero*, who had a son of the same age with Alexander, and his friend, who was so very free, as openly to speak out what others silently thought about that matter: and was forced to cry out often among the multitude, and said, in the most unguarded manner, "that truth was perished, and justice taken away from "men, while lies and ill will prevailed, and brought such a mist "before public affairs, that the offenders were not able to see "the greatest mischief that can befall men." And as he was so bold, he seemed not to have kept himself out of danger, by speaking so freely; but the reasonableness of what he said, moved men to regard him, as having behaved himself with great manhood, and this at a proper time also, for which reason every one heard what he said with pleasure; and although they first took care of their own safety, by keeping silent themselves, yet did they kindly receive the great freedom he took; for the expectation they were in of so great an affliction, put a force upon them to speak of Tero whatsoever they pleased.

5. This man had thrust himself into the king's presence with the greatest freedom, and desired to speak with him by himself alone, which the king permitted him to do, where he said this: "Since I am not able, O king, to bear up under so great a con- "cern as I am under, I have preferred the use of this bold li- "berty that I now take, which may be for thy advantage, if "thou mind to get any profit by it, before my own safety. "Whither is thy understanding gone, and left thy soul empty? "Whither is that extraordinary sagacity of thine gone, where- "by thou hast performed so many and such glorious actions? "Whence comes this solitude, and desertion of thy friends and "relations? Of which I cannot but determine, that they are "neither thy friends nor relations, while they overlook so hor- "rid wickedness in thy once happy kingdom. Dost not thou "perceive what is doing? Wilt thou slay these two young men, "born of thy queen, who are accomplished with every virtue "in the highest degree, and leave thyself destitute in thy old

"age, but exposed to one son, who hath very ill managed the "hopes thou hast given him, and to relations, whose death thou "hast so often resolved on thyself? Dost not thou take notice, "that the very silence of the multitude at once sees the crime "and abhors the fact? The whole army and the officers have "commiseration on the poor unhappy youths, and hatred to "those that are the actors in this matter." These words the king heard, and for some time with good temper. But what can one say? When Tero plainly touched upon the bad behaviour and perfidiousness of his domestics, he was moved at it; but Tero went on farther, and by degrees used an unbounded military freedom of speech, nor was he so well disciplined as to accommodate himself to the time: So Herod was greatly disturbed, and seeming to be rather reproached by this speech, than to be hearing what was for his advantage, while he learned hereby, that both the soldiers abhored the thing he was about, and the officers had indignation at it, he gave orders that all whom Tero had named, and Tero himself, should be bound and kept in prison.

6. When this was over, one Trypho who was the king's barber, took the opportunity, and came and told the king, that Tero would often have persuaded him, that when he trimmed him with a razor, to cut his throat, for that by this means he should be among the chief of Alexander's friends, and receive great rewards from him. When he had said this, the king gave order that Tero and his son, and the barber should be tortured, which was done accordingly; but while Tero bore up himself, his son seeing his father already in a sad case, and had no hope of deliverance, and perceiving what would be the consequence of his terrible sufferings, said, that "if the king would free him "and his father from these torments, for what he should say, "he would tell the truth." And when the king had given his word to do so, he said that "there was an agreement made, that "Tero should lay violent hands on the king, because it was "easy for him to come when he was alone; and that if, when "he had done the thing, he should suffer death for it, as was "not unlikely, it would be an act of generosity done in favour "of Alexander." This was what Tero's son said, and thereby freed his father from the distress he was in; but uncertain it is whether he had been thus forced to speak what was true, or whether it were a contrivance of his in order to procure his own and his father's deliverance from their miseries.

7. As for Herod, if he had before any doubt about the slaughter of his sons, there was now no longer any room left in his soul for it, but he had banished away whatsoever might afford him the least suggestion of reasoning better about this matter, so he

already made haste to bring his purpose to a conclusion. He also brought out three hundred of the officers that were under an accusation, as also Tero and his son, and the barber that accused them before an assembly, and brought an accusation against them all; whom the multitude stoned with whatsoever came to hand, and thereby slew them. Alexander and also Aristobulus were brought to Sebaste by their father's command, and there strangled; but their dead bodies were in the night time carried to Alexandrium, where their uncle by the mother's side, and the greatest part of their ancestors had been deposited.

8. * And now perhaps it may not seem unreasonable to some, that such an inveterate hatred might increase so much [on both sides], as to proceed farther, and overcome nature: but it may justly deserve consideration, whether it be to be laid to the charge of the young men, that they gave such an occasion to their father's anger, and led him to do what he did, and by going on long in the same way, put things past remedy, and brought him to use them so unmercifully; or whether it be to be laid to the father's charge, that he was so hard hearted, and so very tender in the desire of government, and of other things that would tend to his glory, that he would take no one into a partnership with him, that so whatsoever he would have done himself might continue immoveable; or indeed, whether fortune have not greater power than all prudent reasonings: Whence we are persuaded that human actions are thereby determined beforehand by an inevitable necessity, and we call her *Fate*, because there is nothing which is not done by her: wherefore I suppose it will be sufficient to compare this notion with that other, which attributes somewhat to ourselves, and renders men not unaccountable for the different conducts of their lives, which notion is no other than the philosophical determination of our ancient law. Accordingly of the two other causes of this sad event, any body may lay the blame on the young men, who acted by youthful vanity, and pride of their royal birth, that they should bear to hear the calumnies that were raised against their father, while certainly they were not equitable judges of the actions of his life, but ill-natured in suspecting, and intemperate in speaking of it, and on both accounts easily caught by those that observed them, and revealed them to gain favour; yet cannot their father be thought worthy excuse, as to that horrid impiety which he was guilty of about them, while he ventured, without any certain evidence of their treacherous designs against him, and without any proofs that they had made preparation for such

* The reader is here to note, that this eighth section is entirely wanting in the old Latin version, as Spanheim truly observes; nor is there any other reason for it, I suppose, than the great difficulty of an exact translation.

ttempt to kill his own sons who were of very comely bodies, ind the great darlings of other men, and no way deficient in heir conduct, whether it were in hunting, or in warlike exerises, or in speaking upon occasional topics of discourse: for in ll these they were skilful, and especially Alexander, who was he eldest; for certainly it had been sufficient, even though he iad condemned them, to have kept them alive in bonds, or to et them live at a distance from his dominions in banishment, vhile he was surrounded by the Roman forces, which were a trong security to him, whose help would prevent his suffering ny thing by a sudden onset, or by open force; but for him to ill them on the sudden, in order to gratify a passion t' t governed him, was a demonstration of insufferable impiety; iso vas guilty of so great a crime in his older age; nor v . the lelays that he made, and the length of time in which the hing was done, plead at all for his excuse; for when a man 1 on a sudden amazed, and in commotion of mind, and then ommits a wicked action, although this be an heavy crime, yet s it a thing that frequently happens; but to do it upon deliberation, and after frequent attempts, and as frequent puttings off, to undertake it at last, and accomplish it, was the action of a murderous mind, and such as was not easily moved from that which is evil: And this temper he shewed in what he did afterward, when he did not spare those that seemed to be the best beloved of his friends that were left, wherein though the justice of the punishment caused those that perished to be the less pitied, yet was the barbarity of the man here equal, in that he did not abstain from their slaughter also: but of those persons we shall have occasion to discourse more hereafter.

END OF VOLUME SECOND.

TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.
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